Sarat Chandra Das

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INDIAN PANDITS
IN THE
LAND OF SNOW

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FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
CALCUTTA :: 1965

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Sarat Chandra Das:

INDIAN PANDITS
IN THE
LAND OF SNOW

With an Introduction

BY

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राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
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लखनऊ

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INTRODUCTION

I

GHANG-CHEN, or the land abounding in snow, is a native name for what the outsiders call Tibet. Ghang-chen has been more universal than the other description Po-Yul and was the proper usage in a context when India was described as Phag-Yul corresponding to Aryabhumi in Sanskrit. Ghang-chen, in Tibetan lexicons, corresponds to Himavat.

When Tibet adopted and absorbed Buddhism she made her own the words found in the original medium, that is, Sanskrit. A systematic and planned endeavour covering a few generations resulted in the most astounding translation from one language into another. While well grounded in etymology the new coinage represented the best native diction. Sanskrit proper names conveying some virtue or fact were also rendered into native idiom. Yet a few Sanskrit words like Guru or Karma gained currency in preference to their Tibetan equivalents. Thus while Sangye (for Buddha) or Konchog-Sum (for Triratna) was absolutely good form satisfying the head as well as the heart, Pandita was the only acceptable description for an Indian monk-scholar. Eventually Pandita became the proper honorific for Tibetan and Mongol scholars too. The word Pandita thus stands out as a monument of the migration of Buddhism and Buddhist learning into Trans-Himalayan highlands.

Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow introduces the reader into that subject. Published in 1893 the book still remains a convenient and useful introduction. This book presents the four lectures which Sarat Chandra Das gave for the educated but not the specialist type of people. The venue was not the eminent academic body, Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose library was enriched with the Tibetan collection of Das and whose research output gained in variety and quality with Das's original contributions. Though not intended for the consumption of academic classes, these lectures carried the authority of the great academician and were informed with data which had just come to light. Most of these were Das's own discovery. Not unnaturally even today a specialist has to reckon with this book. The book contains chips from a workshop where the raw materials were Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and Chinese.

II

In the light of discoveries and findings made in the course of the last seventy years *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* is no doubt somewhat out of date and in places incorrect. Before we proceed to point any specific inaccuracies about the Indian Pandits or the Land of Snow, we may notice some notions which very much influenced the researches of Indologists in Asia or Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Thanks to Maxmüller and other savants, racial affinities came to be attributed to linguistic affinities and scholars of a subject India found solace in the theory of Aryan stock. Much of Das's talk about Aryan purity and Aryan greatness was the outcome of that school of anthropology. No present day scholar of Calcutta or Patna will be much upset if it is really proved that Siddhartha Gautama the Buddha was not of pure Aryan stock. It is now calmly asserted that the greatness of Anga-Magadha and later Vanga was due to their being not tied to the Vedic authority or Aryavarta complex.

Secondly, Buddhism never attained the degree of success in China as it had done in Burma or Indo-China and never affected the life and sentiments of the people there as in Tibet. The truth about Buddhism in China is however still not very clear. Tibetans had their own misgivings about Chinese Buddhism and refused to accept the exposition of the Sacred Doctrine from Chinese Buddhist scholars. The Indian Kamalasila's victory over the Chinese Hoshang leading to the expulsion of the Chinese school from Tibet was the reflex of Tibetan mind. This tradition did not undergo any change even in the period of the most intimate relations between the Dalai Lamas and the Manchu Emperors: Tibetan priests and monks could expound the Doctrine in Peking while the Buddhists from China could visit Lhasa only as pilgrims. There is nothing much to connect the tradition of Indian monks and scholars in China with that of Indian monks and scholars in Tibet. Das's account of Indian Pandits in China is thus not quite relevant.

In the spread of the Doctrine further north, in north west Asia and even Eastern Europe, the Mongols played a leading role. This was ignored by the scholars at the end of the last century and to such scholars Chengiz Khan's place in history was as a scourge of mankind. Das was no exception to such view. Historical perspective of mankind has now taken a fairer and more accurate view of Chengiz. As a military genius he was second to none of the warriors of ancient and medieval times. In the esteem of Ata Malik Juvaini (1226-1283) Alexander of Macedon could have been a worthy pupil of Chengiz of Korakorum. Chengiz was no less great as a constructive and political genius. Tibet hastened to pay homage and was not subjected to wanton invasion. The actual effect of the wars of Chengiz was the creation of a world trade under Pax Mongolica leading to a concept of world market. Caravans from Sarai to Karakorum moved as safely as those between Sakya and Kambalu. Buddhism itself constituted a commodity in such movements. In two generations Buddhism became the established church but not a jealous mistress. Christianity (Nestorian), Islam and native Shamanism had full freedom and the bureaucracy of the empire included believers of all faiths. This heritage of the Mongol Empire is of relevance to Indian history. The Great Moghuls of India were liberals in an age of bigotry and intolerance and the first five consciously or unconsciously represented in varying degrees the temper of their northern forbears.

III

At the time of the publication of *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* knowledge about ancient India or spread of Buddhism was not much. Even about Asoka the specialist had not much to say. Since then a wealth of materials, literary and archaeological, has been discovered in India, Tibet and Turkestan.

A fairly satisfactory political history of India in the ancient period is now available and this enables us to have a more adequate account of state patronage to propagation of Buddhism as well as the private individual efforts of monks and scholars from different parts of India. We know more about Asoka and Kanishka or Nagarjuna and Asanga than the students of 1890s. We have a larger knowledge of Mahaguru Padmasambhava: born in Swat Valley (Suvastu Skt./Seostris Gk.) and educated in Nalanda he wandered all over the Himalayas as a Siddha;

he defeated the champions of Pon (native religion of Tibet) in disputations as well as in miracles and founded the monastic system in Tibet in the second half of the eighth century. Active liaison between some Siddhas of eastern India and the mystic saints in Tibet is now accepted as historically true. We now know more about cultivation of Sanskrit learning in centres like Sakya, Tashi-lhunpo and Derge under auspices of other Pandits from India. History of the Pala kings is no longer in nebulous stage; Karna the invader of Magadha, when Atisa was preparing for his journey to Tibet, is now known to be the Chedi Emperor of Central India and not the Kanauj ruler as Das suggested.

The term Bengali used for Atisa and many other scholars from eastern India will not be appropriate. The expressions Bengal and Bengali had varying content during the last two hundred years; the connotation would not be the same for the years 1783 (when Turner went to Tashi-lhunpo), 1893 (when *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* was published), and 1911 (when the provinces of Bihar and Bengal were separated). The Tibetan description of the relevant parts of eastern India has been consistently Vangala and this perhaps gives a better perspective of Indian history than modern words like Bihar or Bengal. Das believed that Dipankara Srijnana Atisa was a Bengali and a native of Vikrampur (Dacca: East Pakistan). In later days this was contested by Rahula Sankrityayana (*d.* 1963), the other great Tibetan scholar from India. Sankrityayana held that Atisa was a native of Bhagalpur (Bihar). Atisa spent three rainy seasons at Trag-Yerpa and expounded the Kalachakra there. From my visit to this famous monastery and my talks with Lamas there and elsewhere in Tibet I can only confirm that Atisa was a native of Vangala and that his birth place was towards the east of Vajrasana. Vangala, as a distinct cultural entity in Tibetan mind, roughly stretched from the confluence of the Ganga and the Sone to the confluence of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. The Buddhist centres of learning were located in Vangala and Vajrayana was the dominant cult all over Vangala. It is sound to follow the Tibetan usage Vangala; one should not label the Pala Empire as Bengali or Bihari; one should not look for (modern) Bengali or Hindi in the Dohas composed by the Siddhas of Vajrayana.

Discovery of literary and archaeological materials in Tibet since the days of Das has given us a more connected history of Tibet. We know more about the evolution of the different Tibetan sects: Nyingmapa, Kargyupa, Sakyapa and Gelugpa. Though he had covered the monasteries of all sects in his tours of Central Tibet, Das's researches were generally based on Gelugpa sources. Information from chronicles of other sects now enables us to have a balanced picture of the political history of Tibet, the conflict between the sects and the role of foreign powers (Mongols and Manchus) in the life of Tibet. Besides, some Tibetan books containing data on history of Mongolia and Turkestan have been found.

Khotan, Turfan and Tun-huang have yielded huge quantities of documents in different forms and different media. These are of much greater interest for Tibetan Buddhism than Chinese sources. It is now increasingly felt that Buddhism had entered Tibet long before Srong-tsan-gampo and much of it came via Khotan and Turfan. The development of Mahayana in Swat-Gilgit-Pamirs and the emergence of

Tantric deities and rituals in these areas would be more relevant to history of Buddhism in Tibet than the work of Indian Pandits in China.

IV

Sarat Chandra Das obviously planned his lectures in answer to the specific requirements of his audience; the presentation was much in anecdotal pattern and no modifications were made at the time of publication. Tibetan words and names were rendered phonetically though not uniformly and sometimes Mongol or Manchu forms of Tibetan designations were used. It is not an ordinary testimony to the book that in spite of the inaccuracies in its contents and the defects in its layout it attracts both the specialist and the general reader. Here is an account by one who spoke both from observations as a traveller and from knowledge as a scholar.

Das did not visit Tibet as a prized invitee. His first contacts were incognito and till the end in the eyes of Lhasa authorities he was an agent of a power not friendly to Tibet. It is natural for such an agent to smell stink in the manners and morals of a people who do not welcome him. Thus Austine Waddell and Perceval Landon, medical officer and press attache respectively of the Younghusband expedition, collected enough slime to depict Tibet as a land of barbarians. If in the pages of Das one finds Tibet not so bad, it speaks as much of the objectivity of the observer as of the other side of the account. Very recently much has been said against Tibetan pattern of life and society by sponsored visitors from the West.

Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow gives a picture of Tibet in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and on all admission Tibet remained much the same till 1950. This book, clearly hinting that the Lamas wielded power in government and society, tells that education in monastic schools—and all schools were monastic—was available for all and that the order of Lamas was "open to all". The education was free for the poor and would cost nominal fees for others. The residential monastic establishment was like "a free boarding school". The teacher was "a respectable member of the community" and treated the boys "with personal solicitude". The higher institutions, like the universities of Tashi-lhunpo, Sera, Drepung or Ganden, were open to talent and the rules of admission were rigidly enforced. "The higher offices of State are opened only to those who are successful at the final examinations of the University". One also learns that "the much abused system of Tibetan polyandry" was "practically based on the principles of primogeniture".

Underlying all the manners and morals of the Land of Snow the author observed the quest for a better life, if not in this existence, in the succeeding existence. Quite relevantly considerable part of the book is devoted to the doctrine of metempsychosis, the belief in Karma and the institution of Bodhisattva (incarnation). In this connexion notice is made of introduction and spread of Buddhism in Tibet.

In the author's opinion the Lamaist hierarchy started with Atisa's disciple Dromton. The order of priests and monks begun by Dromton came to be known as Kadampa and was later merged in Tsongkhapa's sect, Gelugpa. In Gelugpa belief the Lamaist hierarchy began with Dromton and had its roots in India. On the other hand Lamaist hierarchy in Kargyupa sect is directly traced back to Tilopa and

Naropa in India. The first hierarchs to exercise governmental authority were those of Sakya and Kargyu (Karma) monasteries. Much information on the history of the sects is now available thanks to Giuseppe Tucci and Hugh Richardson. Besides, Russian scholars like Bogoslovsky have made analytical study of social and economic conditions between seventh and eleventh centuries, the period during which Lamaism became the characteristic form of Tibetan life. While economic factors considerably determine the way of life, morals and polity, new ideas may play a role sometime. Did Tibet receive new ideas about society and polity from the theory of Boddhisattva and monastic institutions of India? Here is a challenge to Indian scholarship: to confirm or to contradict the theory of Indian origins of Lamaist hierarchy.

Appendix I is a poem by Colman Macaulay, a senior officer of the British Government in India, who organized the British probes in and through Sikkim into Tibet; stanza 8 pays tribute to the great scholarship of Das. Along with Appendix III this poem recall the fact that, because of his linguistic abilities, Das was an important member of Macaulay's team; in 1885 Das accompanied Macaulay to Peking. The story of the abortive British attempt to enter Tibet under Chinese auspices in the 1880s can be read in the two Anglo-Chinese agreements: Chefoo Convention of 1876 and Burma Convention of 1886. In the next attempt the British gave away to the Chinese, as a consideration for the latter's support to the former, Chumbi Valley (the nucleus of Sikkim kingdom) by a Convention in 1890. But neither the Convention of 1890 nor the succeeding Trade Regulations of 1893 could open Tibet for British trade though

Yatung found a place in the map as a Chinese outpost. The final and successful British attempt was the military expedition under Younghusband.

Appendices II and V contain the picture of an interesting figure—an Indian ascetic wandering all over the steppes of Eurasia. Appendices IV and V speak of the two Grand Lamas in 1780s; there is a reference to the Panchen Lama's emissaries to Varanasi, Vajrasana and Kalikata; the protocol and customary gifts marking relations between the Grand Lamas and the Manchu Emperors are of importance; the Dalai Lama is described as the Sovereign Hierarch of Tibet.

V

It is the duty of a nation to honour the memory of its greats. Sarat Chandra Das (1849-1917) was a pioneer explorer and a pioneer scholar. Unfortunately we did not notice the centenary of his birth; Asiatic Society of Bengal could not appropriately recall the achievements of this great son of India; Indian Postal Department did not find him worthy of notice in a postage stamp. Hungary, within a few years of the establishment of Magyar People's Republic, brought out a postage stamp in honour of Alexander Csoma de Koros.

Prakasak Kanai Lal Mukhopadhyaya will earn the thanks of all interested in Tibetan studies for this reprint. For my humble self it is indeed a high honour to be called upon to write an introduction to a book of Sarat Chandra Das. I am thankful to the publisher for this kindness.

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA

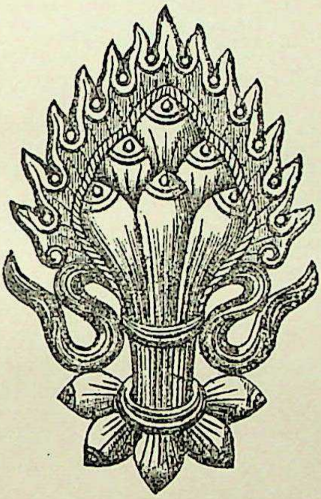
Namgyal Institute of Tibetology
Gangtok, Sikkim
Vaisakha Purnima, 1887 Saka
May 15, 1965

INDIAN PANDITS
IN THE
LAND OF SNOW.

BY

ŚRÍ ŚARAT ĆHANDRA DÁS, C. I. E.

SECRETARY, BUDDHIST TEXT SOCIETY OF INDIA, ASSOCIATE MEMBER ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL



O, the Jewel in the Lotus!

EDITED BY

NOBIN CHANDRA DAS, M. A.

Of the Sub. Executive Service

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DEDICATED

TO

ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, ESQ., C.S., C.I.E.

THE FIRST HISTORIAN OF INDIA AND OF THE
INDIAN ARYANS,

AS A TOKEN OF THE

AUTHOR'S ADMIRATION FOR HIS RESEARCHES
AND ATTAINMENTS

IN THE

LEARNING OF OUR ANCIENT RISHIS

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

I NEED hardly apologise for offering these pages to the public. These are mostly reprints from the contemporary papers, of the speeches and lectures of my brother *Sri* Sarat Chandra, as to what he saw and learnt about the little known works of Indian Aryans, in the countries beyond the Himalayas during his sojourn in Tibet, and I have little doubt the inquiring public will find much in them to think and ponder on. It is an undoubted fact that Buddhism found its way into Central and Eastern Asia, from Aryavarta (India); ages have elapsed since then; the almost insurmountable physical barriers which separated India and central Asia, and the want of intercourse and sympathy between these strange peoples and the Indians tended, in course of time, to obliterate the traces of the onward march of Buddhism from this country. The connecting link, missing to all appearance, nevertheless existed and was to be found in the sacred books of the Tibetans and the Chinese. The travels of Fa-Hian, Hiuen Tshang, I-tsing and others in India in the 5th and 7th centuries after Christ, well-known to the historian, threw some light on this subject; but the labours of the Indian Pandits in the propagation of Buddhism in the North and the far East, have been hitherto buried in oblivion, and it has been the earnest endeavour of our author to unearth them. He has simply broken the ice, and it is to be hoped that the information which he has brought to light will draw the attention of the public to this important subject, and induce men with greater resources at their command, to pursue these researches, and increase our knowledge of the origin and spread of a religion, which includes among its votaries almost a third of the population of the globe.

It is not my object here to attempt any thing like a biographical sketch of the author, yet I think some incidents of his life might interest the reader. From his boyhood, Sarat Chandra evinced that firm determination, and love of peril for its own sake, in which is to be found the clue to his success in after-life. Following the practical turn of his mind, he studied up to the highest class of the Civil Engineering College in Calcutta. Ill health compelled him to seek a change to Darjiling, in 1874. Happily at this time he was selected by Mr. C. B. Clarke to fill the post of the Head Master of the Tibetan Boarding School at Darjiling, an institution then newly started by the Government of Bengal.

Our author found a new field for work and set himself vigorously to the study of the Tibetan language, and acquired a thorough mastery over it in the course of a few years. He used to spend his holidays with his pupils, most of whom had their homes in Sikkim, which was of great help to him in his subsequent journeys across the snowy range. In one of these excursions I accompanied him up to the great monastery of Pema Yang-tche (see Appendix iii). The account of Indian Pandits who revived and reformed Buddhism in Tibet which he had read in Tibetan works, created in his mind a strong desire to visit the snowy abode of the Bodhisattvas. In the year 1878 he wrote to the Dalai Lama of Tibet for permission to visit Lhasa. At the invitation of the grand Lama of Tashi-lhunpo he visited Tibet in 1879, and returned to India after an absence of six months. He received a second invitation in the year 1881 from the same Tashi Lama to revisit Tashi-lhunpo. Accordingly he set out for Tibet in November 1881. After visiting the great cities and places of pilgrimage and particularly Lhasa, the holy seat of the Dalai Lama, he returned to India in the beginning of 1883. Both the journeys were successful. He gained a friendly reception from the Lamas and the people of Tibet, and was honoured as a countryman of the illustrious "Indian Pandits," who had reformed the religion of BUDDHA in the country. Mr. Graham Sandberg, who has written about explorations in the "Nineteenth Century" describes his journey to Lhasa in the following terms:—

"They entered Tibet *via* Nepal, over the dangerous Kangla chen Pass, 20,000 ft. high; and after visiting many places and monastries hitherto undescribed, Mr. Sarat Chandra at length saw before him the glittering domes of mysterious Lhasa. They resided in Lhasa not longer than two months, but he seems to have made good use of that time in visiting every thing that was notable, and even obtaining an interview with the Grand Lama. His return journey occupied six months; and he did not reach Darjiling until 27th Dec. 1882. The narrative of his travels is really most fascinating. If published, we believe it would form one of the most delightful books of travel ever written. Its simple narrative style, most creditable to a Bengali is relieved by the introduction, every few pages, of Tibetan legendary lore of a very interesting kind." *Nineteenth Century* of October 1889.

In October 1884 our author accompanied the late Honourable Colman Macaulay, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Lachen valley, in the Tibetan frontier, where the Tibetan *Jongpon* of Khamba had arrived to meet the British official. The "*Lay of Lachen*" which Mr. Macaulay wrote on the occasion will be found in Appendix I.

In September 1885 Sarat Chandra, under orders of the Secretary of State, proceeded to Peking to assist the Government in diplomatic matters connected with

Tibet. There he was received with open arms by the Lamas of Yung-ho kung, the imperial monastery, who accommodated him in the Yellow temple called Hwang-ssi (see page 29, Appendix V). They also introduced him to the Tibetan plenipotentiary and the tutor of the Emperor. Through the kindness of Mr. A. Michie then Chief Financial Agent to the Chinese Government, he cultivated the acquaintance of the great ministers and chief nobles of Peking, and succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Prime Minister the illustrious Li-Hung-chang. The Peking correspondent of the London "Times" wrote about his works in the following terms :—

"In using Asiatics to conciliate Asiatics the Government would be following the line of least resistance and might hit upon the true solution of the Tibetan problem. There are Bengali Pandits, not many perhaps, who combine the high qualities of the European explorer with tolerance of privations and the subtlety of address which are special characteristic of the Hindu. Their mildness disarms hostility, and when imbued with zeal for their work their quiet resolution and infinite capacity for waiting, overcome every obstacle. With a handful of *rupees* they appear capable of making stupendous journeys over the eternal snows, surveying the country as they go, and gaining the active goodwill of the inhabitants. Such a force as that is surely an element of incalculable strength to a Government whose external affairs are all Asiatic. That at any rate is the impression which an outsider gathers from observing one specimen of the class who has come to Peking in the suite of Mr. Macaulay. The Pandit Sarat Chandra Das has made two eminently successful journeys into Tibet. On the last occasion in 1882, the history of which I am now reading, the learned Pandit worked himself into the good graces of the most important personages in Tibet, and was admitted to audience of the Dalai Lama himself. The Pandit's narrative is written in a simple, natural and graphic style, more like that of Defoe than of our contemporary literateurs. Every detail of the journey is described, and yet the interest never flags. Sarat Chandra was welcomed everywhere as a pilgrim from India, and was worshipped for his Buddhist learning. He travelled to Lhasa in the train of a *grande dame* named Lhacham, who acted the good Samaritan to the travel-sore pilgrim and the conversations of this princess are by no means the least interesting passages of the book. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," and the heart of this great lady was sore for her son aged ten whom she had left for education in charge of a certain minister at Dong-tche. The parting of the mother and son is feelingly described by the Pandit with the artlessness which is the truest art. He remained in the place three days after the departure of Lhacham, whom he overtook on the road, and this caused the lady to call the Pandit frequently to her side as they rode towards Lhasa that she might learn from his lips how it fared with her child. The views of this fine humane-hearted woman on polyandry *versus* polygamy are curious."

NOBIN CHANDRA DAS, M.A
of the Sub-Excise Service

Balasore, 2nd February, 1893.

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*Sudharmanagar in Pegu now called, Thaton.

LECTURE I

STUDENT'S LIFE IN TIBET

Introduction

IN our own language, the word student, as you all know, signifies a *vidyárthi*, from *Vidyá* and *arthin*, a seeker of Knowledge. The word *vidyárthi*, therefore, signifies one whose ideal is Knowledge. It, therefore, conveys a very comprehensive meaning, a wider signification, I believe, than what is meant by the word student. It is my fervent hope that most of you who constitute this Association would be *vidyárthi* in the strict sense of the term, and that you would make *vidyá*, Knowledge, a justification of your blessed existence as man in his civilized condition. You do not require me to say that Knowledge is merely intended for the acquisition of wealth. There should be no cessation in the search for Knowledge after the attainment of this one object—wealth. I cannot but lay stress upon this important point that without an ideal before us, no literary progress is possible, and I am sure you will excuse me if I remind you of the deplorable fact that most of our students, after gaining high University distinctions, make no further effort to soar higher into the regions of thought. Let it not be assumed that the grand consummation is reached when a student gains reputation as a successful graduate in the University. That is only a passport for the entry into the arena of intellectual display. The realm of the intellect being boundless, there should be no pause, for that means a suspended animation thereof, and as a natural consequence, the intellect gets atrophied, and obscured. Look around, and what do you see but the melancholy spectacle of a body of graduates with no stamina in them, no assertion of individualism, which makes individuals and nations great, without which no real development is possible. I therefore, exhort my young friends of this Association to continue their studies after the completion of their University career. In doing this, they would lose nothing but gain

---

The above lecture was delivered at the 2nd Anniversary Meeting of the Students' Association in the Hall of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta. The Hon'ble Sir A. Miller, Q.C., Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, presided.

ultimately, in that they would find themselves happier and wiser indeed. [1]

When they have really taken the position of a genuine student, they will know how much they have yet to learn, and how little they have already acquired during their academic career. They will then appreciate the learning of others, and know how to honour those who by assiduity and love for study have become learned and wise. When the position of a true student is attained, they will have the reward in the realization of the usefulness of life which is glorious when it is spent in the acquirement of *vidyá*.

In Tibet as in India the system of joint family exists, though founded on a basis quite different from that prevailing in this country: the fundamental object of both being the desire to live together in a united body. The principles of Jurisprudence are so strict that the division of property becomes an impossibility, and the members of a family even by mutual consent cannot over-ride the law. The property or estate thus, in the course of a few years, may be increased, but in no way encumbered. The State holds the chief representative of the family directly responsible for the revenue of the estate he is in possession of. The social polity is based on the principle of hereditary preservation of the family and of the estate, and makes the eldest of the brothers the administrator and guardian thereof. He must be married, for he has to take the *rôle* of a patriarch; his remaining brothers are free to follow any profession they like. The wife *by marriage* of the elder brother may become theoretically the wife of the remaining brothers, though practically the latter generally take women of their own choice, who, in case they live in the family, have to do the serivices of handmaids to the wife of the elder brother. She is the mistress of the house, and occupies the position which Sarah had over Hagar.

The eldest brother, if need be, may take several mistresses, but this seldom happens. The children, born of these women, like Ishmael, have no claim over the property, so long as they remain under the roof of their father, they are looked after and fed, but cannot become heirs of the paternal estate. At any time they may leave their father's house, and wander forth. The social and domestic rules are such that the younger brothers are free to remain at home feeding upon the vitality of the family, or they can go to distant places in the interest of trade.

To speak in the language of Captain Samuel Turner who [2] visited Tibet in 1784, "the influence of this custom (polyan- "dry) on the manners of the people, as far as I could trace, has "not been unfavourable. Humanity and an unartificial gen- "tleness of disposition are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan. "I never saw these qualities possessed by any people in a more "eminent degree. Without being servilely officious, they are "always obliging; the higher ranks are unassuming, the inferior "respectful in their behaviour, nor are they at all deficient "in attention to the female sex, but, as we find them moderate "in all their passions in this respect, their conduct is equally "remote from rudeness and adulation. Comparatively with "their southern neighbours the women of Tibet enjoy an elevat- "ed station in society. To the privileges of unbounded liberty, "the wife here adds the character of mistress of the family and "companion of her husbands. The company of all indeed, she "is not at all times entitled to expect. Different pursuits, either "agricultural employment or mercantile speculations, may "occasionally cause the temporary absence of each, yet what- "ever be the result, the profit of the labourer flows into the "common store, and when he returns, whatever may have been "his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home."

The much-abused system of Tibetan polyandry, so startling to us, is practically based on the principles of primogeniture. The younger brothers, who are strong and robust, seldom remain inactive at home. This practice has undoubtedly made the Tibetans brave and adventurous.

When there are two or more sons in a family, one is invariably made a member of the church—*Sangha*, "the association of perfected ones," and the best and the most intelligent is sent to the monastery. In the land of Lamas, the father will see that his most loved son is made a member of the Lamaic Hierarchy. In case the eldest in the family enters the monkish life, he has to renounce his connection with the family, leaving his next brother to succeed, while the younger brothers have got the freedom of choice either to remain at home, to follow a profession or to join the monastic order.

A child, not intended for the monastic life, is sent when quite young to the *Lobta* or the village school where an elementary education, besides instruction in the rudiments of religion is given. The Tibetan *Lobta* is a model *Patshala* (village School) of India. The school-master, who is given the honor- [3] ary title of *Gergan*, meaning "Holy Superior," is a respectable member of the community, occasionally supported by the local magnates. He lives quite a comfortable life, teaching the boys, who, in return for the education they receive, pay him a nominal fee. Those parents, who can afford to do so, send their children to higher schools, while the sons of noblemen and State officials are sent to the Grand Lama's University at Lhasa, and Tashi-lhunpo where the higher classics and philosophy are taught. Every child is sent to school were he is invariably taught the religious *gathas*, stanzas on piety. These he recites daily at home and at school. It is an edifying spectacle to see a Tibetan village school-master, surrounded by his pupils, who sit on their own rugs, which they bring along with them, having each a low two-feet oblong table before him, whereon his school paraphernalia are placed. It is a striking illustration of the perfect obedience of the pupil to his teacher that in the Tibetan schools, the chastising rod is seldom used. He is taught in the lap of his mother obedience and respect for superiors, filial piety and truthfulness, and other virtues and the teacher's *rôle*, therefore, is more of a secular instructor. Nevertheless, religion is taught, the teacher looks after the pupils with paternal solicitude. He generally provides tea for them, and the ever-boiling kettle with a copious supply of tea is always ready for use. The higher offices of State are opened only to those who are successful at the final examinations of the University.

The principal educational establishments of the country are centred in the grand Buddhistic monasteries wherein congregate the best and most intelligent of the sons of Tibet, who, having renounced the pleasures which the ordinary world holds so dear, take to a religious life. Their time is spent in cultivating the mind, in the study of higher ethics, and in educating the people. The laws of State are so framed that the principal Lamas have to assist the chief Functionaries of the Government, who are most efficient in the administration of the country. This Hierarchical administration has been in operation since the middle of the eleventh century. The order of Lamas is open to all, from the highest noble to the *Ragyabas*, the lowest in the social constitution of Tibet. Consequently the people eagerly seek admission into it. The intelligent child in the family is sent by the parents to the *Gonpa* (monastery) where a splendid education is given. The *Gonpa* resembles a free boarding school. The usual course, adopted in entrusting children to the Lamas [4] of the *Gonpas*, is for a parent to present the boy to the Head Lama of the monastery, with the offer of a few presents. If there is accommodation for him in the monastery, the child is admitted after he has gone through an initial religious ceremony, when the Lama first cuts off a tuft of hair from his head, after which a subordinate Lama shaves it clean. The boy is called *Tápá*, for he is now a novice.

As soon as he learns to read and write, he is put under the tuition of an elderly monk, who gives him lessons in the sacred literature. If he pleases his tutor by his conduct and application to study, the Head Lama permits him to be admitted into the order of *Ge-tshul* or *Śramanera.* His higher education commences when he takes up the study of grammar, arithmetic, poetry, &c., in addition to sacred literature. During the course of his training his parents pay frequent visits, each time bringing presents to the tutor. After his promotion to the *Śramanera* class, he is allowed to accompany his teacher to the usual religious services, and the daily prayer meetings of the monastery. If he shows an aptitude for any particular branch of learning, his teacher brings it to the notice of the superior of the monastery, whereupon he is transferred to the department where that branch is taught as a special one. If a *Śramanera* is proficient in mathematics he is sent to the Tsi-pa or College of accountants at Lhasa. Those who earn distinction in philosophy and literature are admitted as monks of a learned *Ta-tshang* over which *Tshan-nid** Khan-po presides. It is at the Government school called Tse Lobṭa that they qualify themselves for the chief offices of the State.

In the hierarchies of Tsang, Amdo and Kham, which are subordinate to that of Lhasa, the *Ge-tshul* (novice monk) goes up for the degrees of *Tûngrampa*, *Kah-chan* or *Rab-champa*, which may be likened to the B. D., and D. D. degrees of the European Universities. Admission into these orders brings honour, remuneration, and rank to the Lamas. After having obtained these several degrees, the successful candidate applies for the highest initiation into the Lamaic order of *Ngagpa*, *Upasampanna* (esoteric initiation) when he becomes eligible for the posts of *Khan-po* (professor) and Head Lama of a monastery.

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* Professor of Buddhist psychology. [5]

Thus this grand Hierarchy is composed of the best intellects who play an important part in the politico-religious administration of the country. [5]

THE MONASTIC UNIVERSITY OF TASHI-LHUNPO

This great University of Tsang like Nalanda, the chief seat of Buddhist learning in Ancient India, enjoys high reputation for the learning of the priests. In fact, it is considered as the principal centre of theological learning of the Northern Buddhists. The distinctions conferred by it are respected all over the country, in Mongolia, Siberia and in North China. Its very name carries honor with it, and serves as a passport for learning and good character all over Higher Asia. The Universities of Sera, Dapûng, and Gahdan in the province of U, Tashi Gomang in Amdo, Revo-tse in Kham and Tah Khûreh in Mongolia are inferior to it, both in respect of learning and endowments. The rules of admission in the grand monastery of Tashi-lhûnpo are very strict. They are carefully administered by the monastic authorities.

Admission:—Boys of good parentage, of age between six and twelve, are placed for education by their guardians, and parents, under the charge of a tutor, called *Gergan* (lit. holy superior) who is a resident monk of the monastery. Under the *Gergan* the boy learns to read the sacred books. He generally remains with his tutor, doing him a little service now and then, eating at his table, and sleeping near him. His parents at the end of every month come to inquire after his health and to make payment to the *Gergan* for his board and clothing. In course of two or three years the boy commits to memory 125 leaves of the standard books containing selections from the Buddhist Scriptures. As soon as he has sufficiently advanced in his studies to be eligible for admission, the *Gergan* sends up his name to the *Gekoi Chen-po* (director of the monastery) for enrolment. The candidates whose names have been registered during the year accompanied by their respective *Gergans* are required to assemble in the court-yard of the congregation hall, on the fourth day after the annual prayer congregation called the *Monlam Chen-po* which is held in the month of February. The *Gekoi Chen-po* as the representative of the Grand Lama and the *Noyon* as the deputy of the prime minister, call each *Gergan* to present his pupil for admission. They put to him the following formal questions:— Has not this boy committed theft, or thrown poisonous drugs into the water of a river or lake? Did he ever let fall stones from the top of a hill, thereby destroying animal life? Is he not guilty of killing his father or mother? What is his family? Is he not one of the low castes, smith or butcher? Does he belong to the town of Shiga-tse* or [6] to any of the neighbouring villages:— De-leg, Tashi gyan-tse, Namral, &c.? On the *Gergan's* replying "no sir," "nothing of the kind," the registrar asks him to sign a paper to that effect. In the meantime the boy goes on reciting like a parrot the contents of the standard course consisting of 125 leaves. If he can satisfy them he is formally enrolled, and his head is shaven clean with the exception of a small tuft of hair which is left on the crown. If he fails to acquit himself well he is turned out of the monastery and his tutor immediately receives ten stripes of the cane, and binds himself to pay a fine consisting of 40 lbs. of clarified butter within three days. If the *Gergan* happens to be a Khan-po, official or respectable man, he sends an ordinary monk as his representative to present his pupil to the director for admission, and in the event of the boy's failure to receive the usual punishment.

From the date of his admission the boy, though treated as a novice, is entitled to the usual allowance of a *Tápá* (novice monk). As long as he does not take the vows of a *Ge-tshul* he is not allowed to join the ordinary monks in the religious services of the monastery or to sit with them in the grand hall of congregation. At the time of the regular daily services he sits with his fellow-novices in the hall called Sher-chan Lha-khang. When it pleases the Grand Lama, he calls all these novices to receive the first ordainment and to subject themselves to the tonsure. Dressed in the prescribed church robes consisting of a lower garment, upper garment, the monkish petticoat and the wrapper, they present themselves before the Grand Lama, who, with a pair of scissors in his hand, calls each boy by the name that was given to him by his parents and asks:—"Do you subject yourself to the tonsure cheerfully?" "Yes, your Holiness, I do so with the greatest pleasure;" is invariably the reply. The Grand

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* The Tashi-lhunpo University is under the direct control and presidency of the Tashi Lama himself, who is called Pan-chen rin poche (pan-pandit, chen-great, rinpoche, *maharatna*, or the most precious gem). The doors of the University are open only to the most respectable, with the exception of young men living in the surrounding villages of Shiga-tse, &c., as nearness of home is considered a hinderance to religious and monastic discipline. [6]

Lama then cuts off the tuft of hair from the boy's head, and gives him a new name by which he is to be called henceforth. On this occasion the Grand Lama also adds certain titles of aristocratic distinctions to the names of those who have sprung from the upper sections of the people. The scions of the old nobility and descendants of the earlier Tantrik (Lamaic) families called Ngag-tshang are given the titles of *Shab-dûng*. The sons of land-holders, and high officials, the title of *Je-dûng*, and those come from the class of gentlemen and the family of Sha-ngo are called *Choi-jé*. As soon as these titles are bestowed each recipient, as a rule, entertains all his fellow-novices for three days with rice, tea, biscuits, cakes, and barley flour. For one whole day religious services for propitiating the guardian spirits and tutelary deities are conducted, when his guardians entertain the members of his *Mi-tshan*,* and makes them presents of silver coins of the value of two annas or upwards. It is in consideration of these dinners that the title holders are exempted from certain menial services such as fetching water, sweeping the floor, &c., [7] which every novice has to render to the congregation. They are also allowed the privilege of wearing the kind of Lamaic mantles called *Cham-tse Dagam*†. Then at a convenient time the *Tápás* dressed in the prescribed clothes of their order are brought before the Grand Lama for ordainment in the orders of Ge-nen (upâsaka) and Ge-tshul (novice monk). They are seated in a row before him each on his own mendicant's rug. The Grand Lama assisted by at least four ordained monks receives each novice who presents him with a mendicant's platter filled with certain medicinal fruits, &c. The novice for receiving the vows, sits on his insteps with the feet touching each other and places the joined palms of his hands on the joined knees. He then reverentially says: "I take refuge in BUDDHA, in DHARMA and in SANGHA." As soon as he has repeated this twice, the Grand Lama commands him not to sin, and to observe the *Pancha-sila*, the five commandments.†† This ceremony finished, each again approaches the Grand Lama, for admission in the sacred order. As soon as he has again thrice repeated the formula of taking refuge, the Grand Lama puts him the following questions:—Have you obtained the permission of your parents to leave the world for ordination in the holy order? Have you committed the murder of your father or mother, &c.? He then commands him not to sin and to look to him in the light of a living Buddha and to regard his residence as the superb mansion of the gods. The vows of a Śramanera (novice monk) are then given. At the end of the ceremony each novice-monk presents the Grand Lama with a silk scarf and ten *Tankas* (Tibetan silver coin). Henceforth they are permitted to freely take part in all the congregational meetings and services. For a period of three years, from the date of entrance, they are regarded as *Rig-chûng* or monks of the primary stage, after which they are called *Rigding*, *i.e.*, those of middle stage. Monks of five years' standing are called *Rig-chen*, *i.e.*, monks of the higher stage. They are permitted to pass an examination in the sacred books to obtain the rank of *Phal-chenpa*. The most intelligent among the *Phal-chenpa* go up for the degree of *Kah-chan* (called *Rab-champa* at Lhasa) which is something like the degree of D. D. Those who fail in this examination, go to the Buddhist college at Gyan-tse where there are eighteen *Ta-tshangs* or classes, to graduate themselves as *Tûng-Rampa* or Bachelor of Divinity. Some of the *Phal-chenpa* scholars also go to the college at Namring in Upper Tibet for the same kind of degree, but the *Tûng Rampa* of Namring being of inferior attainments is not recognized by the University authorities of Tashi-lhûnpo, for only the *Kah-chan* and the *Tûng* [8] *Rampa* of Gyan-tse have the privilege of admission into the *Ngagpa* college to Tashi-lhûnpo to qualify themselves as apprentice Lamas. It is from among the scholars of this institution that the abbots and Khan-pos (superiors) are appointed to branch monasteries. There are upwards of five hundred branch monasteries under Tashi-lhûnpo, the most important among which are the following:—Yahole (Jehor) in the North of China, Hwang-Ssi and Yûng-ho-kûng in Peking, Phûn-tshogling, Lhar-tse; Gyan-tse, Narthang, Dong-tse, &c., in Tibet.

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* Mi-tshan is same as Kham-tshan (section or ward of a monastery). [7]

† These mantles are furnished with hoods at the back.

†† If convenient the Grand Lama also ordains them in the orders of Ge-ñen (Upâsaka) and Ge-tshul (Śramanera) at the same time but generally these ceremonies take place at different periods. [8]

In the grand monastery of Tashi-lhûnpo there is a large school called *Labrang Lobta* for the education of advanced students of all classes belonging to both monk and lay people. It offers special instruction in secular literature, arithmetic and writing. Young monks who wish to qualify themselves for civil employments under Government reserved for the clergy, resort to it in large numbers. Beginners have no admission there. Only such students are admitted as have acquired some proficiency in reading and writing. In consequence of this it rather resembles a college than a school—but in other respects it is but an ordinary day school. The scholars attend it after their breakfast at 8 A.M. and leave it at 4 P.M. During the school hours they are twice provided by Government with luncheon which consists of tea-soup and barley flour. They pay no regular fees for their education as the *Gergans* (teachers) are paid by State. The institution is conducted by two teachers, called *Gergan Chen-po*, senior master, and *Gergan Chûng-wa* or junior master. The Prime Minister of the grand Lama called Kyabying Chen-po has placed it under the direct supervision of his Secretary called the Tûng-yig Chen-po, who looks to its internal economy and management. It is located in the Lobta Khang near the Eastern Mausolia of Tashi-lhûnpo. The Tûng-yig selects the *Gergans* from among the *Tse-rûngs* or *Dûng Khors*, chief clerks and officials under him and gives them an extra allowance, in addition to the pay of their respective rank and office.

No distinction of age is observed in admitting pupils to this institution. Clerks who are found incompetent are also sent here to study under the *Gergans* during the period of their suspension. Sons of merchants and middle class landholders also come here from the neighbouring places for instruction. As the fair sex has no place within the walls of the grand monsastery, young girls cannot attend [9] this *Lobta*. Students who complete their education here are required to serve the Government for a short period, but when they fail to do so, they have to pay a large sum to the *Gergans* for obtaining their exemption from the rule, through the kindness of the Secretary, the Tûng-yig Chenpo. In all the secular educational institutions of Tibet the *Gûng-sang* or the Tibetan sabbath, which does not necessarily fall on Sunday, is observed. After six days' work every seventh day is observed as a holiday, when the school boys are required to write only one line in their *Chyang-shing* (slate for exercise). All the slates are then examined by a Tse-rûng unconnected with the school. He arranges the slates in order of merit. The *Gergan* then reads the examiner's remarks to the boys who have just come out from their luncheon at the *Gergan's* table. Their places in the class for the week are in accordance with the result. The *Gergan* then takes a short piece of bamboo of the size of a table knife called *Nyûg-sha* and strikes lightly with it on the cheek of the first boy saying:—"Though you are first in order yet your writing has not been very good. Further improvement is necessary." He then orders him to strike the rest of the boys' cheeks with it rather hotly to remind them of their bad penmanship. The second boy then gets the bamboo piece in turn to strike all the boys with the exception of the head boy. The third and fourth, &c., have their turn to strike the rest of the boys, till the last boy's cheeks become lacerated. This is the only kind of punishment which the boys get for want of attention to improve their hand writing and it is inflicted once a-week. In the Government school which is held only during four months in the year the examination does not take place on every *Gûng-sang* day. It is held once every month.

In the town of Shiga-tse there is a large *Lobta* at the place of Changlo Khangsar, near the Thom (market). Thirty to forty boys are taught in it by one *Gergan* assisted by a pupil teacher called *Gandag*. The name of the present *Gergan* is Tshog-tshering who has been connected with the school since 1878, and has the reputation of being a strict disciplinarian. His *Lobta* is indeed the reformatory for the truants of the town. Youths who are declared incorrigible by other *Gergans* are sent to his *Lobta*. For his strict discipline and commanding demeanour he is called the hot *Gergan*. He holds his school regularly from seven in the morning to four in the afternoon. He receives five *tankas* (nearly two rupees) from each boy as his tuition fee and provides such boys as [10] give him satisfaction with tea. He regularly conducts the weekly examination on every *Gûng-sang* day, getting the slates examined by a friend. On account of the frequency of examinations, the boys of his *Lobta* get a good deal of beating with the bamboo on their cheeks which often, thereby, bleed, and a boy with lacerated cheeks is singled out as belonging to Tshog-tshering's *Lobta*.

Girls up to ten years of age are admitted in private *Lobtas* and taught along with boys but their number is small. It is only in the families of the rich and the great that proper education is given to girls, up to the fourteenth year of their age. It is owing to the prevalence of monastic education imparted to monks and nuns in monasteries and convents that we find most of the people of Tibet acquainted with letters, but as arithmetic is not taught they shew a remarkable ignorance of figures. Had the number of *Lobtas* been large in the proportion to the monasteries, the Tibetans, who are a very intelligent people, would not have been so poor in the art of counting, which they generally manage by means of strings of beads.

Comments on the above Lecture

Mr. C. S. Addis, Manager of Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, said:—When I entered your hall to-night, my first impulse was to gratify a curiosity I have cherished for the last ten years to see what manner of man the Babu Sarat Chandra Das was. As it happened I reached Peking after the Hon'ble Colman Macaulay's expedition had turned on its tracts, and it is now after following him half way round the world that I had been enabled to catch up with Sarat Chandra. Even a short residence in the capital of China is sufficient to awaken a keen interest in the Tibetans, and particularly in the Tibetan form of Buddhism, known as Lamaism, whose elaborate and uncouth ritual is daily performed with considerable pomp in the temples, endowed by the Emperor. Here at the Hawang Ssi or Yellow Temple, and again at the famous Yung Ho Kung or Temple of Everlasting Peace, I found myself following in the Babu's footsteps. It is only fair to mention, however, that where he was received as an honoured guest, it was only after repeated failures that I was enabled to cross the sacred portals and look upon the countenance of the Hu'tukt'u, an avatar or incarnation, popularly known as the Hiro Fo or living Buddha. But it was little we could learn in those days about the mysterious country of Tibet. The narratives of Bogle and Manning in the last century and of Père Huc and Gabet in this, afforded us but scanty information, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that nothing was known about the country at all, until Babu Sarat [11] Chandra Das succeeded, where all previously had failed, and by his marvellous journey established a European reputation, and placed himself in the very first rank of the century's explorers. It is not for me to be didactic, or to draw for you a moral from the sketch, we have just been listening to, of student life in Tibet. But I cannot help saying what was running in my mind as the lecture proceeded. I wondered, if you students realised your opportunity. I confess, I looked round with a kind of envy, to think of the possibilities within your grasp. Nearly half a century has elapsed since any European has succeeded in penetrating the fastness of Tibet. Attempt has followed attempt in rapid succession and all have ended in complete failure. It is not possible for us. It is possible for you, where we have failed, and apparently are doomed to fail. The presence of your lecturer reminds us that you may succeed. The task lies with you. It is for you to follow where he has led the way, it is you and you only who can complete the work, of which he is the distinguished pioneer.

Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt, M.A., said that there was one point in the lecture, which struck him in particular, that was the self-abnegation of the Tibetan students. Here in India the students after a brilliant University career betook themselves to what were called learned professions for the simple purpose of turning an honest penny. In this they forgot that there was a nobler object in life than making money. Their conduct in this particular contrasted very unfavourably with that of the Rishi-fathers, as well as of their Tibetan brethren, who after their student life devoted themselves to the study of their sacred books in monasteries. In this the Indian students should imitate the students of Tibet.

The Hon'ble C. C. Stevens, Member of the Board of Revenue, said:—"When I entered this hall, I certainly did not expect that my voice would be heard except in the general chorus of thanks, which I felt confident the lecturer would richly deserve. It has been, however, suggested to me that I may without impropriety tender my own individual acknowledgment, and I do this the more readily, because I can take the opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who have discussed the lecture. I only abstain from proposing a vote of thanks to them also for their most interesting speeches, because I have no precedent for such a course, and ought not to embarass our Chairman by committing an irregularity. When I saw Babu Sarat Chandra Das announced to lecture on "India and Tibet," I could not help wondering what direction he would take in the discussion of so vast a subject. He has, in my judgment, acted wisely in confining himself to a very small corner of it, so that we should have the benefit of the accurate and minute knowledge which he has acquired by his personal investigations, and I congratulate all present on [12] having the opportunity of receiving this information from the explorer himself at first hand. The only regret which I feel is that this is but a single lecture, and not one of a course.

Like the preceding speaker, I am not anxious to dogmatize on the lessons to be learned from what we have heard this evening. There has been a general consensus of congratulation with the

Tibetans on the fact that in their society, it is the people of ability that betake themselves to theological pursuits. * * * But one speaker has gone beyond this, and has expressed a strong wish that the best of his countrymen would abandon less exalted studies, and devote their intellects to religion and psychology. This I venture to think, is going too far. We need a good proportion of the best men for practical life. The Bengalis require, as it seems to me, little incitement to the pursuit of abstractions; and the great point in which the career of our lecturer affords an useful example to young men, is the thorough and persevering manner in which he set himself to meet and overcome practical difficulties, and to acquire stores of knowledge far beyond what could have been reasonably expected of a single man. He has attained a European reputation as one of the first travellers of the day, and I hope that some of you will rise to distinction, though, perhaps, in other pursuits, by the exercise of the same qualities, which have made him so successful and distinguished. I have much pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks, which has been proposed for the lecturer.

The Hon'ble Sir A. Miller rose and said amid the loud cheers of the assembly:—"It has given me a great pleasure to be present at this very interesting lecture which has added greatly to our knowledge of a country little known. I was struck by the resemblance between the Tibetan Law more specially as regards family relations and that laid down for the moralities in the Book of Leviticus. As to the particular question of polygamy and polyandry, it would be found that neither continued to flourish after a people had become settled, and a country fully populated. In India, for instance, polyandry may be said to be extinct, though I believe, it still exists among a few people on the Malabar Coast, and polygamy, though not illegal either among the Hindus or the Mahomedans, is quite the exception, the rule being to have but one wife. I think, too much was made of the differences between different bodies of Buddhists. I doubt whether a Tibetan Buddhist differs from a Sinhalese Buddhist more than a Norwegian Christian differs from an Italian Christian. We should examine the broad, general principles, and not particulars. One of the speakers has said that the safety of life and limb in Nepal is due to British agency. I think, he is right. But in civilised countries, such as Japan, there need be no fear. I cannot say anything of China. The habit of anchoritism has always had great attraction [13] for a certain class of minds, but it never could be general in any country, because, except under special conditions, an anchorite cannot maintain himself. Now as Tibet and other such places are beset with dangers, great credit is due to one who, taking his life in his hand, visits such places, gives information thereof to others, thereby adding to the stock of knowledge of others and his own.

LECTURE II

EARLY INDIAN PANDITS IN CHINA

Introduction

The early Indians, who visited China, and the circumstances under which they worked in the sacred cause of religion, and taught the arts and sciences of the Bráhmans to the people of the Flowery country deserve special notice. Little attention has been paid to this subject by European scholars. Dr. Edkins and Rev. Samuel Beal are the only sinologues, who in the course of their researches into the religions of China, have published certain detached notices of the working of the early Indians in the Buddhist propaganda in China. Besides my own researches, which were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from time to time, I have drawn certain materials from the translation of Chinese historical works of these scholars. It is not, therefore, within the range of my expectations to be able to do full justice to the subject, and yet what I shall now present to you will probably be new to many. In addition to this, the very fact of a solitary native of Bengal having travelled to the far East, and visited the famed capital of China in this age of India's social exclusiveness may also be regarded as a novelty.

I may be permitted to say that I have spent a large portion of my time in studying the works of those Indian and Tibetan sages, who, in their quiet and humble way, wrote and contemplated for the moral and spiritual well-being of the world, residing in the deep recesses of the Himalayas and the secluded cloisters of the country of Himavat.

The eleventh and the twelfth centuries A.D., especially the

This was delivered at the Hall of Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. [14]

latter, as you all know, was the period when the great typhoon of destruction reached its height—when both [14] Europe and Asia were convulsed with wars and fanatical revolutions, when the Crusaders waged their holy wars on the Saracens and disturbed the peace of the countries of Christendom, when the kings of England and France led their armies into Syria, and covered the plains of Acre with blood, when Jenghis Khan, who was a stranger to the name of religion, led countless hordes of blood-thirsty Mongols from the banks of the Amur to the East and West to devastate the world,—to deluge the earth with human blood, and to raise hills of human heads, when the Mussulman conquerors from Cabul filled the lands of the Indian Aryans with unheard of cruelties, such as the massacre of holy men in their covered arcades and monasteries in Aryavarta, the spoliation of the Indian kingdoms, and the forced conversion of the helpless to the creed of Islam. Imagine India, the country of a quiet, mild and meditative people, with its beautiful temples, and picturesque gardens turned into a battlefield by the Moslem vandals who made

"The sun like blood, the earth a tomb
"The tomb a hell, and hell itself a murkier gloom."

Unable to reason with might and fanaticism, most of the Indian sages, the Buddhists particularly, fell martyrs to the doctrine of universal love and compassion.

Origin of the Mahâyâna School

In the first century before Christ the Bráhman Nágárjuna of the Vidarbha country, interpreted the perfectly developed *Dharma*, or what is now-a-days called the esoteric Buddhism, to the Indian Aryans. With the force of his powerful logic he induced them to embrace it in preference to the exoteric *Dharma* of the earlier Buddhists. For seven years he persevered and succeeded in converting the most powerful king of India, who was devoted to the Bráhmanical religion of that age. This monarch, according to the accounts of Indian historians, preserved in the archives of the Dalai Lama, was the celebrated Bhoja Bhadra, who lived in B.C. 56. He incurred the displeasure of the Bráhmans by his personal attachment to the sage Nágárjuna and his esoteric doctrine. The day he began to favour Buddhism, there were ten thousand Bráhmans in the hall of audience, all of whom joined in praising the marvellous virtue of the valiant Nágárjuna, and at once submitted to the tonsure, and entered the holy order. The conversion of the king to Buddhism [15] may be regarded on the one hand as a fabrication of the Buddhist writers, or an explanation of it may be found in the legends connected with him in the Bráhmanical books. When the illustrious monarch passed under the influence of Nágárjuna he must have, at the same time, in the opinion of the Bráhmans, fallen under the malignant influence of that unrelenting planet, Saturn. Nágárjuna is said to have propitiated the goddess Chandiká, who helped him greatly in his patriarchial labours. It was Nágárjuna, who for the first time systematically explained the philosophy of Buddhism, and wrote numerous works on its highly abstruse philosophy. Although the fundamental dogmas of Buddhism had begun to be interpreted on various points of view long before him, there was no established philosophy about Buddhism till he wrote. Before his time, the religion of BUDDHA was restricted to morality and external observances only. The aim of the earlier Buddhists was to inculcate virtue, encourage the ascetic life, and urge persons of all castes and sexes to aim at deliverance from the evils of existence, and the attainment of Nirvána. They based their teaching on the existing doctrine of metempsychosis, of the gods and other classes of beings, and of heaven and hell. They taught that by the transmigration of the *sattva* (soul), all in heaven or earth, whether gods or men, demons or other inferior beings, are linked together into one chain of animated existence, and compose the world which is subject to decay. It is the business of BUDDHA and the Bodhisattvas to instruct these beings in moral truths, to assist them to escape from all the six forms of existence into a state of perfect enlightenment and tranquility. But the teachers of the four schools of Buddhism, taking advantage of the celebrated resolution of the synod of Vaisáli, when the first schism in Buddhism took place, *viz.*, "That can only pass as the true doctrine of the BUDDHA which is not in contradiction to reason," had already fallen into divergent theories in explaining the principles of Buddhism, and divided themselves into eighteen sects. They, in the main, held two extreme dogmas each, one diametrically opposed to the other, *i.e.*, either a perpetual duration, or a total annihilation with respect to *sattva* (spirit) and matter. The Sarvástivádi School, as its name implied, held that all things existed, while their opponents contended that nothing existed.

It was reserved for a master-mind like that of Nágárjuna to discover the golden mean. He chose a middle way, hence the [16] name of his philosophy—Mádhya-mika school. He started with the two fundamental truths, called *Samvriti satya* and *Paramártha satya*. *Samvriti* is that which is the origin of illusion, but *Paramártha* is the self-consciousness of the Mahátmá in his self-meditation, which is able to dissipate illusion. It is not possible to explain here the Mádhya-mika doctrine, but I shall extract the few lines in which Schlagentweit endeavoured to sum up the principal dogma. "By denying the extreme of existence is also denied, in consequence of a conditional appearance, the extreme of non-existence which is not in the perception; the world (*samsára*) must be renounced, not because it is a source of misery and pain, but because it is unreal and contains nothing that can satisfy the mind." The Mádhya-mika school taught that ordinary morality is not sufficient for deliverance from transmigratory existence. Those who really strive after the final attainment of *Mukti* (emancipation) must assiduously practise the six transcendental virtues and attain perfection in them. These cardinal virtues are:—Dána (charity); Síla (morality); Ksh́anti (patience); Vírya (energy); Samádhi (meditation); and Prajñá (supreme wisdom). With this philosophical development, Buddhism became very powerful, and the followers of the Mádhya-mika school became celebrated under the name of Maháyáṇa or the more developed medium or conveyance for the state of Nirváṇa.

Nágárjuna, both by example and theory, taught that Brahmá, Vishnu, Maheśvara, Káli, Tárá and the other deities, possessed the attributes which the Bráhmans had assigned to them, and therefore were the proper objects of propitiation for help in worldly concerns. He was famous for his Vedic scholarship. Since his time the Bráhmans began to regard the Maháyána Śramanas as their brother religionists. They showed little antagonism to those who favoured Buddhism, and regarded BUDDHA as the very manifestation of Vishnu in his last but one descent in human shape. About him Jayadeva sang:—

> "Merciful hearted! When thou comest as BUDDHA,
> Albeit, 'twas written in the scriptures so,
> Thou bad'st our altars be no more imbrued
> With blood of victims: Keshav! bending low."

Among house-holders no distinction was observed in matters of religious belief. The father took no exception to his sons imbibing faith in Maháyána Buddhism or in Bráhman- [17] ism. It is mentioned in Tibetan Buddhist works that the original temple of the Mahábodhi, at the Bodhimaṇḍa called the Mahágandhálaya, was originally built by a merchant of Benares, whose two elder brothers belonged to the religion of the Bráhmans. His mother was a believer in the religion of BUDDHA. On one occasion the three brothers had a discussion among themselves as to the superiority of their respective religious beliefs. The mother, when asked to express her opinion on the subject, advised them all to proceed to mount Kailása and to propitiate Maheśvara for a definite solution of their doubts. All the three brothers pleased the great god Maheśvara, who appearing before them in a dream expressed himself in clear language that none but a BUDDHA could be immortal and free from misery. The three brothers devoted their immense wealth to building the great temple, and constructing the image of the Mahábodhi and his lotus seat, called Vajrásana, ornamented with precious stones such as ruby, emerald, sapphire and diamond. Though the Bráhmans accepted BUDDHA as an incarnation of Vishnu, the Buddhist Church did not regard him as such. They identified Vishnu with Bodhisattva Padmapáni, who is called Avalokiteśvara-Khasharpaṇa. They traced the attributes of Maheśvara in Bodhisattva Manjuśrí and those of Indra in Vajrapáṇi Bodhisattva. In course of time these distinctions ceased to exist, and the gods of the Bráhmans become the gods of the Buddhists. The teaching of Nágárjuna and his successors produced such a powerful effect on the minds of the learned that numerous Bráhmans declared their faith in Buddhism. The Sanskrit language being peculiarly sacred, as well as familiar to the people everywhere in India, Gandhára and Udyáná, they used it as the chief medium of education in sacred literature. With this impetus Maháyána Buddhist works rapidly multiplied. It is mentioned in Atíśa's life by Bromtan, who wrote in 1055 A.D., that during the reign of king Naya Pála, owing to the degeneracy of the Śrávaka institutions, some of the intelligent members of the Mahá Sánghika school had to proceed to Suvarna Dvipa, a country beyond the sea, for their education in the Śrávaka literature. It is also mentioned that the Hindus of that age used to pay equal reverence to Bráhmans and Śramanas, who used to be invited to dinner in equal numbers. The Bráhmans being domestic priests of the people were required for the propitiating of the gods. They continued to carry on their holy duties undisturbed by the Śramanas who used to remain confined within the walls of their monasteries. [18] When the Mahomedan conquerors came to India, they destroyed the monasteries and massacred the priests. With the extinction of the Buddhist Church, the sacred religion disappeared, leaving the Indian Aryans in the sole charge of the Bráhmans. When Buddhism was thus extinguished by the conquerors, the white Tántrikism, which had already been in existence for a century, gave place to black Tántrikism in Magadha and Bengal—when mystic rites and symbolism filled the country. This is how the religion of the Indian Aryans became mixed up with all sorts of matters, the purest and the grossest conceivable. Such being the history of our religion in the earlier as well as in the dark age of India, it is not possible for us to ignore the spirit of BUDDHA, whose influence had penetrated to the far west before the advent of Christ. Can there be a loftier ideal of the sainthood of man than what is depicted in the opening lines of Kshemendra's "Kalpalatá"?

"He, whose spirit transparent like crystal, does not take colouring at all."

He, in whose mind, though melting with compassion, all sins are absorbed."

He, by whom, though bereft of anger, is killed the archenemy —the union of matter and spirit."

Let that omniscient Being be the source of your permanent good.

Origin of Social Exclusiveness

Religio-social exclusiveness or what is called caste in these days, does not appear to have prevailed in India before the Mahomedan conquest, nor was it known in Udyána, and Gandhára before the Hijira. When the Arabs, after subverting the empire of the Parsis, converted the Parthian Buddhists to Mahomedanism, and overran Cabul and Candahar, the Indian Aryans learnt their customs and manners from the habits of the Mussulman travellers and merchants. They then formed their determination not to associate with the beef-eating Mlećha, whose manner of living considerably differed from that of their neighbours, the Greek Yavanas, Palhavas, Bahlikas whom they also called Mlec'has, and who though they ate fowls, never killed the cow for her beef. So when the Mahomedans invaded their country, the Indian kings performed the penance of being touched by the Arab Moslems. Though politically conquered by the Yavana con- [19] verts, the Indian Aryans did not surrender their religion to them. It was then that their ideas of social exclusiveness assumed a religious character, which does not appear to have existed before. This was the origin of the caste system. It was wisely instituted by our ancestors to preserve the integrity of our Aryan character and origin. Had it not been for this, we would have lost the traditions of our ancestors and become moslemised like the Afghans, and the Eastern Tartars. It will not savour of presumption on my part to say, that of all nations in the world, the Indian Aryans alone have preserved those institutions, which ensure the preservation of the purity of blood.

We can pay little credence to the statement of some writers on Buddhism that BUDDHA preached against the social exclusiveness of the Indian Aryans. The traditions of the Śákya race, as can be gathered from Buddhist works, show that he honoured caste—that natural outgrowth of a nation's progress, which is co-existent with civilization. BUDDHA never permitted his votaries to mix with the lay people, nor ever told the householders, who honoured his doctrine, to associate with the members of the holy order, who observed no caste, and who were permitted to beg for cooked food at the doors of all classes of householders. This principle exists now as it did in olden times. We know the origin of the Jugis, an outcast class of our community. Their ancestors were the Śankarite ascetics, who had renounced the world, and cut off their connection with society. But when they reverted to worldly life, their friends refused to receive them in their midst as members of society. Even at the present day the most revered of our holy men, such as Brahmacháris and Dandi Sanyásis, &c., are regarded as outcasts from society. In Nepal, which has ever remained free from Mahomedan contact, Hinduism and Buddhism exist side by side as they did in this country in former times. There caste is observed without being mixed up with religion. I have seen Nepalese merchants, both Hindu and Buddhist, in Tibet, who cook their food together and return to their country without losing caste. The Nepalese visit Europe and China, and when they return to their country, they are received with open arms by the members of the society. It is, therefore, essential for our countrymen to visit the different countries of the globe, and, like the Nepalese, to come back with caste, and to live in the society of their friends and parents.

The principles of the morality of the Indian Aryans ele- [20] vated and codified by BUDDHA were studied by the eastern Greeks and the Getæ or the Yuchi of the Chinese historians. The influence of the Játakas and the anecdotes of BUDDHA's life, in which moral courage and fortitude are exemplified in a remarkable manner, found a place in the folklore of the occidental nations. Menander, the Greek sovereign who also ruled over a large part of India, has been recently identified with king Milinda of the Southern Buddhists. He is called Minendra in the "Kalpalatá" of Mahákavi Kshemendra of Kashmir. The Indian Aryans of BUDDHA's time had attained a high degree of both intellectual and spiritual culture. Study was their life, and contemplation their food. It was owing to this fact that no particular religion has ever gained a universal acceptance in India. It is in the unphilosophic mind, which is full of credulity, that religion finds a virgin soil on which it has a hold and on which it thrives. The Indian mind of that age was undoubtedly more philosophic than the European mind of the present day.

Origin of the Bengalis

Not to speak of the age of Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, history would tell us in unmistakable terms that our ancestors, in the palmy days of Greek civilization, were a highly enlightened people. The close resemblance which the modern *Bengali* bears to the *Mágadhi*, and the comparison of the customs of the ancient Mágadhi people with those of the modern Bengalis shew that the latter have descended from the former. From these facts it may be inferred that we are the descendants of the very people who constituted the central empire of Magadha, though we have thus far, in the course of two thousand years and a half, moved to Bengal, replacing the aboriginal Bengalis, who moved further East and South to Burmah and Siam. Evidence is not wanting for satisfactorily proving that our ancestors were the people who carried on diplomatic and commercial transactions with the Greeks, and about whom Megasthenes, Arrian and Strabo have left records. Only a thousand years ago, the Bengalis were a nation with the Pála kings on the throne of Gaur.

It is, therefore, no wonder that a people, who had dealt with the Greeks, should show capabilities to acquire the languages as well as the arts and sciences of the West with remarkable facility. The enervating climate of the Lower [21] Provinces has, no doubt, undermined the physique, but it has not impaired the intellect so much. If, therefore, they avail themselves of the opportunities opened to them for visiting the more favoured climates, they will benefit in a marvellous manner. This is confirmed by the fact that even the mediocre among those who visit Europe for education come back after successfully passing competitive examinations in sciences and languages.

Periods of Missionary Work of the Indo-Aryans

The age of missionary activity of the Indian Buddhists may be divided into three periods.

The early period, commencing with the Promulgator of the religion, extends to the first century before the birth of Christ. During this period Buddhism spread from Magadha towards Nepal, and the North-Western parts of India—to Central India, the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, Gandhara, Udyána, Eastern Persia, and Ceylon; the great patrons of it being the Aryan Emperor Asoka, the Greek monarch Minendra (Menander) and the Tartar Conqueror Kanishka.

The second period began with Nágárjuna, the founder of the Maháyána School about the middle of the first century B.C., and terminated in the seventh century, when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang returned to China. During this period Buddhism spread far and wide, to southern and Western India, to Persia, to Tibet, China, Japan, Burmah, Siam, and the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and Cambodia. This was the period of Bráhman Buddhist activity, which stands unrivalled in the history of Buddhism.

The third period was remarkable on account of the part that Bengal played towards the spread, nay, revival of Buddhism in Tibet, and also for the part that Tibetan Buddhism played in civilizing the rude people of Zungaria, the bloodthirsty

Mongols and the warlike Man-tchus from the foot of the Himálayá to the Arctic Ocean.

From the facts that I shall presently place before you, it will be evident that Buddhism was diffused to the remote parts of the world by zealous and ardent teachers, and not by fugitive Buddhists from India. In fact, during the second period, the Buddhists became all powerful in India as well as in Asia. [22]

The Earliest Notices of China

The Emperor of China, Chi-e-wang, better known by his name Che-hwangte, sent one of his sons, called Salanu, in Tibetan, with 10,000 troops to conquer the countries of the West. Advancing towards Wu-than he arrived at the town of Mekar. Just at that time Yaksha, the ex-minister of King Asoka, who was in banishment, came to Wu-than (Pancha-sthan) with his parents and brothers and 700 followers, to settle in the country. When they were encamped above the river (called in Tibetan) Shel-Chab Kongma (Upper Crystal Water) of Wu-than, two of Salanu's servants, who it is said, had gone there in search of one of his run-away cows, met them. The reason of their coming to Wu-than being known and also it being the common interest of both to hold it, Salanu, Yaksha, and their followers agreed to remain as king, minister and subjects in the valley of the river of Shel Chab. The parties conferred at a place called Hanguji below Kora. A short time after this, there arose some difference as to the division of the country among the two people. In the dispute the guardian spirit-king of the north called Vaisravana, (Kuvera) and Śridevi interfered. All the country below the river of Wu-than, called in Tibetan, Shel Chab Kong-ma and below Dolla Meker and Kamshing were given to Salanu and his followers, and thenceforward they belonged to the Chinese and were called Chen-than or China-sthana, by the Aryans. All the lands above the rivers, *i.e.*, towards the Indian side were given to Yaksha and his followers, which henceforth belonged to Aryavarta, called Arathan (Arya-sthan) by the Chinese. Thus the country between the two Shel Chab (Crystal Rivers) were owned by the people of Aryavarta and China, where they settled and founded cities and towns. This central place, where the Chinese and the Aryans came into contact with each other, being the country of Wu-than (Khotan), its language became mixed. The character and the language of Wu-than greatly resembled those of the Aryans, but their manners and customs mostly resembled those of China. Two hundred and fifty-four years after the Nirvana of **Buddha**, King Salanu was born. He became king of Wu-than in the 19th year of his age. Salanu and Yaksha were the earliest rulers of Wu-than. After the death of Salanu his son Yeula became king and founded the city of Wu-than, now called Khotan. This was the age of Che-wangte the great, Emperor of China, who [23] erected the Great Wall, and was contemporaneous with Asoka, the powerful Emperor of India. Their empires touched each other.*

Early Notices of India in China

According to Chinese historians, before 217 B.C. Indians had arrived at the capital of China in Shensi in order to propagate their religion. Mention is also made of a warlike expedition of the Chinese towards Hien-theu, a country beyond Yarkand in 122 B.C. Here a golden statue was taken, and brought to the Emperor. This was the origin of the statues of **Buddha** that were afterwards in use in China.†

At this period, the geographical knowledge of the Chinese increased. The name of India became known to them. Chang-kien, a Chinese Ambassador, returned from the country of the Getæ (Yu-chi or Saka) and informed the Han Emperor Wuti, of the kingdoms and customs existing in the West. Among other things, he said— "When I was in the country of the Dahe, 12,000 Chinese miles distant to the south west, I saw bamboo staves from Kieung and cloth from Ssi-chuen. On asking whence they came, I was told that they were articles of traffic at Shindo, the country of the Buddhists." The commentator of the work from which this account is taken, mentions that the name Shindo also used to be pronounced as Tindo in those days, but the Chinese now do not use the initials representing the sound *sh* or *t* in writing the name [24] Shindo. They simply write *Indo* by which name India is known to them. The country of Dahe or Dehisthan borders on the Caspian, forming the south-east coast of that sea.

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* This account together with a short history of Khotan was obtained by a Tibetan historian from a roll of birch bark manuscripts in the grand library of Sakya (White-land) in the 13th century. He mentioned that the early Patriarch Kings of Tibet obtained it from the Buddhists of Wu-than in the 7th century A.D.

† "It is still a question when Buddhism was introduced into China. There is a work written by one Fa-lin, to confute the sceptical opinions of Fu-yi, in which the writer brings a mass of evidence to show that Buddhist books were known in China before the time of She-Hwang-te (B.C. 221). This monarch, as is well known, claimed to be the first universal Emperor. This claim he put forth in the twenty-sixth year of his reign as Cheng Wang. He built the Great Wall and destroyed all the books; and Fa-lin contends that among these three were the Buddhist Scriptures. He also records the anecdote that in the time of She-Hwang there was a foreign Buddhist priest, Li-Fang, who, with seventeen companions, came to China with Buddhist books for the purpose of converting the King. The Emperor, however, shut them up in prison. In the evening six men (of superhuman character) came, and with their diamond maces opened the prison doors and brought the captives out. On this the Emperor was filled with fear and worshipped them." (Beal's Buddhist literature in China). [24]

Introduction of Buddhism in China

In the 26th year of the reign of Chow-wang, the 5th of the Tehu dynasty, there appeared towards the south-western boundary of the Empire, a halo of light, the lustre of which illuminated the realm. The Emperor having witnessed this wonderful spectacle, asked the astrologers what was meant by it. They declared that it presaged the birth of a saintly personage in that quarter, whose religion after one thousand years, should be known in China. The Emperor recorded the wonderful phenomenon in the imperial register. It was in that very year that Buddha was born. In the 8th year of the reign of Emperor Ming-Ti Yung-phing of the great Han dynasty, 1013 years after the birth of BUDDHA, Buddhism was brought to China. On an auspicious day, in (60 A.D.) the 3rd year of his reign, Ming-Ti saw in a vision that a saintly personage with a golden complexion, bright as the sun, full three fathoms high, approached his throne from the direction of heaven.* [25]

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*The vision of Ming-Ti:—During the after Han dynasty of the family Lin, which reigned at Lo-yang (the eastern capital), there appeared to Ming-Ti, the second Emperor, in the third year of the Yung-Ping period, (*i.e.*, A.D. 60) in a dream, a golden flying figure, above his head the glory of the sun and moon, which hovered above the vestibule of the palace. On inquiry, the historiographer Fu-yih said he had heard that there was a Divine Being (*shin*) in the West, called BUUDHA, who had come down to earth, and that the dream had something to do with this. Accordingly, A.D. 64, the emperor selected from his officers Ts'ai Yin, Ts'in-king, Wang-tsun, and others, all numbering eighteen men, to go to the West to inquire about the religion of BUDDHA.

Yin and the rest coming to the country of India invited Kaśyapa Matanga and Chu-falan (Su-bharan) to return with them, who, using a white horse for carriage, came back with books, pictures, and an image of BUDDHA, A.D.

On the following morning, the Emperor communicated the night's dream, to his ministers, one of whom named Fu-yi informed him that there existed a certain prophecy about the appearance of a great noble sage in India, of the description that the Emperor gave, and he begged for leave to ascertain if it were not so. The Emperor referred to the ancient records, and computing the dates found that just 1010 years had elapsed. Exceedingly delighted with this remarkable coincidence, he despatched a messenger of the name of Wang-tsun, with eighteen companions to India in search of the doctrine of **Buddha**. The party first went to the country of the Getæ and Yuchi—the Saka Tartars and the Bactrian Greeks bordering on India. During that time there lived in Gandhára two great Arhats of Magadha one called Mátanga who was born of the race of

67, to Lo-yang. The Emperor rejoiced at the event, erected a temple, called the White Horse Temple which was finished on the first month of the fourteenth year of his reign, A.D. 71. On this occasion the Taouist priests of the Five Mountains, Shen Sin and others, being dissatisfied sent a deputation to the emperor exhorting him to have their respective merits tried. On which occasion the emperor, having called an assembly before the southern gate of the White Horse Temple, the Taou-ist priests put their sacred books and religious paraphernalia (spiritual treasures) on the eastern altar; the emperor placed the sacred books, relics and images of Buddha above the hall of the seven gems, on the west. [25]

And now the Taou-ist priests, with tears, called on the Heavenly Lord, whilst they lay prostrate on the ground, then placing sandal-wood on the altar and burning their books, they hoped, as in former times, that others would arise from the ashes and ascend into the air and exhibit wonderful changes. But no such event now occurred, nor could they recite their sacred incantations as they ought. On this the great officer, Chang Yen, addressing them, said, "Your trial has failed; your pretentions are false; the religion of the western countries is the true religion. (S. Beal).

Then the priests of the Nan Yoh, Shuh tsai and others, self-convicted, fell dead. After this the *śariras* of **Buddha**, emitting the five colours, ascending into the air, formed themselves, as it were, into a covering over the assembly, glorious as the disc of the sun. Matanga, the Doctor of the Law, having before this arrived at the conditions of a Rahat, forthwith by his miraculous power, ascended up into space and there exhibited himself, undergoing various spiritual changes, *e.g.*, flying, walking, sitting, sleeping and so on.

Hereupon there was a rain of precious flowers, so that the feelings of the beholders were deeply moved and they rejoiced exceedingly. On this, whilst Matanga was seated (in the air), Dharmananda preached a sermon and multitudes of the people were converted. Amongst these, the royal ladies, the emperor's chief house-keeper (tsich u) and others, 190 persons, all became professed disciples (ch'uh kia); of the great officers of state, civil and military, 268 became disciples; of the Taouists belonging to the "four peaks," Lu-hwintung and others, 620 men became disciples; of the capital town, 391 of the chief men and women became disciples. Of the royal family, those who had professed religion, with their heads shaved offered gifts and presents to the Sacred Books for thirty days, after which they founded temples, seven outside the city, three within. In the seven the priests located themselves, in three the female disciples dwelt. All this is related in the annals of the Han dynasty under the heading "Ming Ti pen niu chouen."

Kasyapa, and the other named Bharana Paṇḍita.* The Chinese messenger besought them [26] to visit his country in order to spread the benefits of Buddhism, among his countrymen. The Arhats welcomed the invitation, and equipped themselves for the journey. A few volumes of Buddhist scriptures, several images and portraits, and some sacred relics, all of which they packed on white horse, completed their spiritual weapons, with which they marched towards that distant country.

When the party came to Lo-yang, they resided in a temple specially built for their reception. On account of their having come with a white horse, which was also lodged in the temple, it was called "*Pei-ma-ssi*" (white horse temple; *Pei* meaning white, *ma* a horse, *ssi* temple, hence the residences of Buddhist priests were called Ssi) in China. Accompanied by Wang-tsun, the messenger, they arrived at the palace, in 67 A.D. while the Emperor with the greatest demonstration of reverence approached to receive them. They presented to the Emperor all they had brought from their country, on the 30th day of the 12th month. The Emperor expressed himself well pleased with the presents, and specially with the image of BUDDHA, which bore striking resemblance to what he had seen in the vision. The Indian Arhats performed some miracles, which served to strengthen the monarch's faith in Buddhism. The Emperor wavering much, at last decided that he would test the merits of both, by casting their respective religious scriptures into fire, which ever passed the ordeal successfully by being untouched by the fire, should have his patronage. It so happened that all the To-u-se books were burnt and the Buddhist volumes remained undamaged. The Emperor being convinced of the impositions of the To-u-se (Taou-ist) priests ordered that their high priests Selon and Chhushen should be burnt alive. The two Indian Pandits were extolled to the skies. The Emperor with his ministers and a large number of subjects embraced Buddhism.

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*Kaśyapa Matanga:—He was a man of Middle India, of the Brahman caste. When young he was distinguished for talent; with ardent purpose he studied various treatises, and extracted from them new and hidden meanings. Moved by the divine spirit, he went into Western India, where he was invited by a small country to come over and explain the Suvarṇa Prabhasa Śutra. Just at this time a neighbouring state attempted to march an army into the former country, but they were unable to advance over the frontiers. Suspecting [26] some secret agency, they sent messengers to find out (by augury) the reason of the hinderance. Having entered the country they found the king with his ministers, &c., quietly listening to the Śutra of the great development, whilst a divine being was protecting the country. On this they were converted, and it was just then that T'sai Yin and the other emissaries from China met Matanga, and brought him to Lo-yang to the Emperor, A.D. 67. (S. Beal's Buddhist literature.) [27]

On this occasion of the triumph of Buddhism over the To-u-se religion, the Emperor uttered the following verses:

In a fox are not to be found the virtues of a lion,
The torch cannot enlighten like the sun or moon, [27]
A lake cannot encompass the earth like the boundless main,
The splendour of Sumeru is not to be seen in a mountain,
The blessed clouds of DHARMA encompassing the world
Will rain upon and quicken the seed of universal good;
All that existed not before, will now appear
From all quarters, ye moving beings, draw near the Victor.

In the great fortress of He-nan-fu, the Emperor erected seven temples, of which the temple of Pei-massi was the principal one. He also established three convents for the use of nuns. The Emperor himself took the vows of an *upásaka* (a lay devotee). More than a thousand men, headed by the ministers of state, became monks. Once the king addressed the Indian sages thus,—"Venerable fathers, within the environs of my Empire, is there no saintly being residing for the permanent good and protection of all living beings"? Mátanga replied: "Yes, Arya Mañjusri dwells in Revo-tse-na, *i.e.*, the top of Panchágra parvata." He then gave an account of Mañjusrí's chosen land, which, accompanied by his friend Pandit Bharana, he now prepared to find out. After much search he reached the enchanted spot which he distinguished from others by his saintly knowledge. He then reported it to the king. "During the days of Upagupta who was a second BUDDHA, there lived a king of the name of Asoka, who constructed 84,000 *chaityas*, one of which exists on Revo-tse-na containing a fragment of the genuine relics of BUDDHA." The Emperor, in order to preserve the ancient Chaitya, built a lofty temple over it which is now called by the name of Tábotha Chhorten. Near it he erected the great monastery of Shen-thun-su.

The Chinese belong to the Maháyána School

Mátanga and Bharana were the pioneers in the work of translating the Buddhist books into Chinese. Mátanga translated the important Sûtra of forty-two sections. During his residence at Lo-yang his colleague translated the Sûtra of Dasa Bhûmi or the Ten Stages of Perfection, besides five others. They jointly translated five Sûtras. These Sûtras being the earliest that were rendered into Chinese afford an important clue to the discovery of the kind of text they used from India. Even in that early period, the Maháyána School and its literature in Sanskrit were predominant in Central and Higher Asia, in Gandhára, Udyána, Kashgara, and Balhika. Kasyapa had chosen a Chinese word, the initial of which was *Śí*, in writing such words as Śramana [28] Śrávasti, Kasyapa, instead of *s* with which the same words are written in Pali. In writing Śrávasti, he used the initial *V* instead of *B*.

Some illustration of the words they formed from the initials of Chinese characters, to produce Sanskrit sound, may not be out of place here. From these examples, and also from the books they had translated, it is evident that the earliest translators used Sanskrit texts in which alone the Maháyána scriptures were written. Had they used Pali texts, they were sure not to have used *Ś* or *V* as these letters are unknown in Pali.*

Translation of Buddhist Sacred Works into Chinese

Ming Ti's successor invited several Indian Pandits to China. Among the second batch, Aryakála, Sthavira Chilukáksha, Śramana Suvinaya, and others were well known. Pandits Ganapati, Tikhini, and others propagated Buddhism in Keangnan during his successor's reign. Achárya Nanda, about whom there existed a prophecy recorded in the reign of Emperor Wu-Ti in B.C. 140, translated many books. He caused a picture to be prepared from the sandal wood image of BUDDHA done by king Utráy-ána. In 150 A.D. a Buddhist scholar of Arsi in Parthia visited China and after acquiring a mastery of the Chinese language translated several Sanskrit works into Chinese. Shortly after receiving the embassy of the Roman

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* Sanskrit	In old Chinese	In modern Chinese
Budh	Put	Fo
Arahan	A-la-han	Lohan
Dhyan	Dien	Chan
Nirvan	Nit-ban	Nie-pan
Kaśyapa	Ka-shi-ap	Kai-shi
Bodhi	Po-ti	Phu-ti
Śramana	Shamen	Sha-men
Bhikshu	Bi-chu	Pi-ki-eu
Anagam	On-a-ham	..
Śrota-pana	Shota-pan	Su tho-pwan

Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius, Sankiuen, the Emperor of the Wu dynasty, received at his Court the Roman merchant called Dsinlon with great respect. Dsinlon gave a description of his country to the Chinese Emperor, and receiving marks of honour, returned to his country. At this juncture an Indian Pandit visited China, and was received with great reverence by the same Emperor. He translated for him certain Buddhist works.* In 170 A.D. [29] a Bráhman Buddhist from the Getæ country translated the Nirvána Sûtra into Chinese, which was considered an excellent production.

At the close of the second century A.D. an Indian residing at Chang-an, the modern Sian fu, produced the first version of Saddharma Pundarika in Chinese. He was followed by the sage Dharma Kala who translated the Vinaya at Loyang.†

About the close of the third century, 290, A.D. a Chinese scholar, named Chu-su-hing, visited Northern India by the way of Wu-than, now called Khotan, and obtained a Sûtra of ninety sections. He translated it during his residence in Honan. Many Buddhist works were translated into Chinese at Lo-yang by Chu-fa-hu, a Sanskrit scholar from the Getæ Empire, who had travelled to India at this period.

Fa-ling was another traveller of note who proceeded from Yang Chau (the modern Kiangnan) to Northern India, and brought the Vinaya Sûtras with him from Páṭaliputra.

About 300 A.D. a Bráhman of the Getæ Empire whose name in Chinese was Chi-king-ming translated the Saddharma Pundarika, but his version was imperfectly done.

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* This Missionary (called in Chinese Shaman 'An-tsing or Sai-kao) was a prince royal of Parthia ('An-sih; either of the country of the Arsacidœ, or the [29] Assakas, *i.e.*, Parthians.) When his father died he gave up the kindgom to his uncle and became a Buddhist recluse. He came to China in the second year of the reign of Hwan-ti, A.D. 149, and soon distinguished himself by his knowledge of Chinese. He went to Kwang-Chan (Canton) to encounter an old associate of his who in former days, (*i.e.*, in a previous birth) had possessed a fiery and passionate temper. As he went along the road, a young man armed with a knife attacked and wounded him. Kao with a smile addressed him and said, "I have come here to see you." From A.D. 149 to A.D. 171 he translated 176 distinct works in 197 Chapters. Of these the Dharmapada, Amitabha Śutra, Sigalavada Sutra, &c., are the principal ones.

† The Shaman Dharmakala, an Indian, when young devoted himself to study; he could recite throughout the four Vedas, and was well acquainted with the five Vidya Śastras. Having become a Buddhist, he diligently studied the works of the great and little Vehicle and the different copies of the Vinaya. He came to China in the year 223 A.D., where he flourished till A.D. 251. He laboured, translating principally works belonging to the Vinaya, at Loyang, such as the original rules of the Mahasanghika school.

The Shaman '*An-fa'-hien*, who after travelling through various countries, came to China about A.D. 260 and translated *Lo-mo-kia King* or the history of Ram in three Chapters. He also translated the Mahaparinirvaṇa Sutra. [30]

In the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Buddhism was in high favour at the Court of the Emperors of the Chan dynasty. The people of the provinces of Pechili and Shansi, were the first among the Chinese who learnt Sanskrit. In consequence of the work of translation being carried on, so extensively the dialect of North China became partially Sanskritized. In the year 335 A.D. the Prince of Chau in the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty permitted his subjects to [30] take monastic vows. Before this, Indian Buddhists had been allowed only to build temples in large cities, and to preach Buddhism to the people. The Indian Buddhist called Buddhasangha was highly favoured by the Emperor, who often paid much attention to his advice. At his instance 893 monasteries were erected in China, where he became well known by the name of Futo Ching, the wonder-working Buddhist. Buddhasangha worked miracles in China. On one occasion he caused a blue lotus to grow in a flower pot which was filled with water. As he burnt incense near it, the flower became full blown in the presence of the spectators. He drew omens from the tinkling sound of pagoda bells, as they were blown by the wind.*

The Śramana Dharmaraksha, a Hûna, became a disciple at eight years of age, came to China A.D. 265, and worked at translation till 313 A.D. He produced altogether 210 volumes in 394 chapters. Among these the Sûrangama Śûtra and the Mahápari Nirvána are most important.

The Śramana Kálarûchi, a man of the West, came to China A.D. 281, and residing in Canton, translated one Sûtra.

The Śramana Won-lo, a man of Khoten, came to China A.D. 293, and translated the Light-giving Prajñá Sûtra in 20 chapters.

The Śramana Au-fa-kin, a Parthian, a man of large reading, came to China about A.D. 302 and worked at translation till A.D. 306 in Lo-yang.

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* The Shaman Buddhabhadra, whose private name was Śakya, a man of Kapilavastu, and a descendant of Amritodana, the uncle of Śakya Muni, became a disciple at five years of age, and daily read a thousand words of the scriptures. His fellow-student, Sanghadatta, while lost in meditation, once saw Bhadra appear suddenly, and asking him whence he came, he said he had been to the Tushita heaven to see Maitreya. He met Kumara Jiva in China, and from A.D. 399 to A.D. 422 he worked at translation, partly in the capital and partly in Mouna Lu. (Beal's Buddhist literature.) [31]

In the year 381 A.D., the Emperor Hian Wu of the Tsin dynasty erected a pagoda in his palace at Nanking. At this period Buddhism received the greatest encouragement from the public and the Emperor, when nine-tenths of the common people embraced the religion of SAKYA MUNI. The rapid conversion of the Chinese into Buddhism and the study of the sacred books by them created a desire for pilgrimage to *Fo-defang* or the land of BUDDHA. Chinese travellers of this period taking the land route across the Buddhist countries of Higher Asia used to visit Persia, where, too, Buddhism [31] prevailed. In the chain of Buddhist kingdoms, extending from China to Persia, there were numerous monastic institutions where the pilgrims found shelter and where Sanskrit was studied by the clergy.

About 400 A.D. Sangha Deva, a native of Persia, visited China. He translated two of the Agama Sûtras.

Kumára Jíva and Fa-hian

In A.D. 405 the Tsin emperor sent a large army to subjugate Tibet, and instructed the General to invite to China the most scholarly Indian Buddhist, whose fame had spread far and wide. At this time the Indian sage Kumára Jíva (called Kumûra Śri in Tibetan works) was residing at Khu-tsi,* a kingdom to the north-west of Tibet. The Śramana a Vimaláksha, who was remarkable for his eyes, lived with him. Accompanied by him Kumára Jíva crossed the sandy deserts and arrived in China in the year 408 A.D. After Vimaláksha's death, he translated the Vinaya of the Sarvástivadin. The Tsin Emperor received him with much reverence and conferred upon him a high office. He commanded him to translate the sacred Buddhist works of India. Upwards of 800 Indian Pandits were engaged to conduct the work of translation. The Emperor was an ardent student of Buddhism, and used to compare the revisions himself. Kumára Jíva possessed accurate knowledge of the Chinese as well as Sanskrit. About 300 volumes were finished under imperial supervision. Kumára Jíva translated the Amitábha Sûtra, though a version of it existed which was made during the great Han dynasty. Kumára Jíva's translation had one advantage over that of other translations. He pared off the repetitions and redundancies of the works he translated, in consequence of which they continued to be ever popular.

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* Kin-sse (kharashar). [32]

The Śramana Fá-hian, a native of Wu-yang, in the prefecture of Ping ying, was admitted as a novice at three years of age. Being desirous to obtain religious books, especially the Vinaya, he vowed to go abroad to seek them. In A.D. 400, he set out for India. He made pilgrimage to the sacred shrines and learned the Sanskrit language, and acquired a facility in writing that language with the greatest exactness. While the work of translation was in progress in China, he was travelling in India on pilgrimage and collecting sacred books. The extension of the religion that was at this time pro- [32] pagated with zeal and fervour greatly promoted mutual intercourse between China and India. Fa-hian found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in the steppes of Tartary among the Ouighours and the tribes residing west of the Caspian Sea, in Afghanistan, then called Udyána, where the sacred language of India and of Magadha then prevailed. He travelled over the lands watered by the Indus and its tributaries in Central India and visited Ceylon. Going back by sea from Ceylon he reached Chang-an in 415 A.D. after fifteen years' absence. The ship which carried Fa-hian had on board about 200 men. They had provisions for 50 days, and were bound for Canton. After a month a tempest and violent rains overwhelmed them. The passengers were all in alarm. Fa-hian invoked Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvar to quell the storm. When it became calm the Bráhmans on board said, "this Śramana (meaning Fa-hian) should be put to shore on an island, because it was he that had brought the storm, why should we all (they said) be exposed to danger for the sake of one man? At this time a friend of Fa-hian said, "If you set this Śramana ashore, put me also on shore, or else kill me. If you put this Śramana ashore on arriving at the land of Han, I will denounce you to the king. The king of the land of Han is very much attached to the doctrine of BUDDHA, and honours the monks." The merchants were in doubt what to do and did not venture to take severe measures. Fa-hian had several companions when he first set out on his journey, but was deprived of them all by death and other causes. On his return to Chang-an he undertook the editing of the works he had brought from India, with the help of an Indian Pandit, named Parasangha.

At the request of his religious instructor, Kumára Jíva he published an account of his travels.

Kumára Jíva was followed in the work of Buddhist propaganda by Bodhi Jñána, Dharma Rûchi and Sthavira Sangha Varma. The third translated the four Vyákaranas.

In the year 428 A.D. the Indian Pandit Dharma Raksha brought to China a Sanskrit copy of the Nirvana Sûtra, and going to Kau Chang compared it with the version of it made by Chi-meng during his residence in Eastern Tibet. He translated the Sûtra of golden lustre and the Bright Sûtra. Dharma Raksha professed to foretell political events by the use of charms. The Tartar Emperor of Wei dynasty summoned him to his Court in order to test his power, but he refused to obey the command in consequence of which he was put to death. [33]

In the year 429 A.D. in the reign of Emperor Wun, three Sinhalese visited China. It is mentioned in the work called Bhikshuni Nidána, that in the year 433 the ship called *Nandi* brought to China a second party of "Sinhalese nuns who established the Bikshuni order in China. It is also mentioned in Tibetan works that a Sinhalese nun, named Devasará, accompanied by ten nuns from India visited China. About 460 A.D. five Buddhists from Ceylon arrived in China by the Tibetan route. Two of them, named Yashaita and Buddhánandi, brought with them Buddhist images which possessed wonderful properties. The Śraman Dharmábodhi came to China A.D. 431 and translated the Rules of the Bhikshunis according to the Sarvásti vádin School. The Śraman Kumára bodhi, a western man translated the sacred books at Chang-an, in A.D. 435. The Śraman Dharma priya an Indian, translated the Mahá Prajñá Páramita in A.D. 446 in Chang-an. The Śraman Dharmánanda, a Turk (Turkhara) travelled through many countries, and at last came to China A.D. 448, and translated five works.

In the year 518 A.D. Sung-yun was sent to India by the prince of the Wei country to bring Buddhist books. Accompanied by Hweisheng, a priest, he travelled to Gandhara, stayed two years in Udyána and returned to China with 175 Buddhist works.

Prajnottara, the 27th Buddhist patriarch, travelled to the southern part of India, where he preached the law of BUDDHA. He took under his instructions Bodhi Dharma, the second son of the king of Dakshin. He died in 457 A.D. leaving Bodhi Dharma as his successor.

Bodhi Dharma

In 526 A.D. the 28th Buddhist patriarch, who taught a system of Buddhism, which discouraged study and attached importance to mystic meditation, after growing old in Southern India, reached Canton by sea. He was received with the honour due to his age and character by the emperor of Southern China at his Court at Nanking. Bodhi had a discourse* with the emperor on Buddhism, but having failed to [34] convince him with his answers crossed the Yang-tse-Kiang into the Wei kingdom. At Loyang he is said to have sat in meditation with his face to a wall for nine years. People called him the wall-gazing Polomen (Bráhman). When the Emperor heard that the great teacher possessed the heirloom of Buddha and the symbol of the hidden treasure of the blessed Law, had gone over to the kingdom of Wei, he sent messengers to invite him to his Court. Bodhi Dharma did not return to Nanking. Emperor Wuti was an ardent Buddhist, though he had failed to appreciate the mystic reasonings of Bodhi Dharma.

The doctrines, preached by Bodhi Dharma, are said to have differed considerably from those, that were preached by his predecessors in China and India. In Southern India, he was reviled by the Buddhists as a heretical Buddhist teacher.

"In the contemplative school of Bodhi Dharma the distinction of vice and virtue is lost. To the mind that is given up to its own abstract meditations, the outer world becomes obliterated. In the books of this school, the unreality of all sensible phenomena is maintained, virtue and vice are not given any importance. These notions only come to existence through the imperfection of the present state. They disappear altogether, when an escape from it is effected by admission into the higher region of pure enlightenment, virtue and vice, life and death happiness and misery, the antithetical states originated in the world of delusions, to which we belong, are all condemned together as constituting a lower state of existence. All beings should strive to be freed from them, and to rise by BUDDHA's teaching to that perfection, where every such diversity, moral and physical, will be lost in unity. The Nirvana does not admit any such distinction as these. It is absolute and pure illumination without anything definite attached to it, whether good or evil, pain or pleasure. Thus there is no place for ethics, except in the lower modes of life, and hence its difference from the exoteric Buddhism. According to this school, worship of the gods and goddesses, &c., is [35] intended for the ignorant, who cannot comprehend the deeper principles of Buddhism. The Dharma being purely a matter of the heart, offerings and salutations are really unnecessary. The true Buddhist will offer worship to no being whatever. He simply aims to raise himself above all the common feelings of human life."

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* At the first interview with Bodhi Dharma, the Emperor Liang Wuti said:—'From my accession to the throne, I have been incessantly building temples, transcribing books, and admitting new monks to monasteries. How much merit may be supposed to have accumulated thereby?'' The reply was "none." The Emperor: "And why no merit?" Bodhi Dharma: "All this is but the insignificant effect of an imperfect cause, not complete in itself. [34] It is the shadow that follows the substance, and is without real existence.'' The Emperor: "Then, what is merit?" Bodhi-Dharma: "It consists in purity and enlightenment, depth and completeness, and in being wrapped, in thought, while surrounded by emptiness and stillness. Merit such as this cannot be sought by worldly means.'' The Emperor: "Which is the most important of the holy doctrines?'' Bodhi-Dharma: "Where all is emptiness, nothing can be called holy." The Emperor: "Who is this that replies to me?'' Bodhi-Dharma: "I do not know.'' The Emperor could not comprehend this, and remained unenlightened. (*Edkin's Buddhism*). [35]

The prince of the Wei kingdom was a zealous Buddhist. He erected monasteries on beautiful sites, and made endowments to them for the maintenance of monks. During his reign, temples had multiplied to thirteen thousand. He used to discourse with the Buddhist teachers on religious and metaphysical points. At this time 3,000 Indians were engaged on the Buddhist propaganda. Bodhi Dharma died of very old age. It is said, he had made five attempts to put an end to his life by poison. His remains were buried at the Hunger mountains in Honan. At this juncture, Sung-yun returned from his travels. As Bodhi Dharma lay in his coffin, he held one shoe in his hand. Sung-yun asked him (the dead body) whither he was going. To the western heaven, was the reply. The coffin was afterwards opened, and found empty, excepting that one of the patriarch's shoes was lying there. By imperial command, this shoe was preserved in the monastery as a sacred relic. Bodhi Dharma is considered as the founder of the contemplative school in China. In picture he is represented as seated on what is called one-horned immortal bull. This is the Chinese representation of the *khargi* or rhinoceros. One of the earlier sects of the Buddhists had this animal as their symbol explanatory of abstraction or *Ekágratá*. In picture he carries a pole on his shoulder with a shoe suspended from it. The story is that on crossing the

Yangtse-kiang, he dropped the other which, picked up by a countryman of his, was found to possess wonderful powers. The anniversary of his death, which falls on the fifth day of the 10th month, (*i.e.*, November), is observed in China up to this day. Emperor Shen-tsung of the Sung dynasty ordered the temples of the older Buddhist Schools, called Ssi, to be changed into institutions of Bodhi Dharma's school, called *Chang yun*, *i.e.*, retreat for *dhyan* or contemplation. His successor followed his example. Hence the great popularity of the contemplative school in China.

The successors of Bodhi Dharma were five in number. They led quiet lives. The fourth of them was invited to court by the second Emperor of the Sung dynasty, and repeatedly declined the honour. When the messenger came for [36] the fourth time, and informed him that if he refused to go, he had orders to take his head back with him. The imperturbable old man merely held out his neck to the sword in token of his willingness to die. The Emperor respected his firmness. A remarkable anecdote is connected with him. At the time he was residing at a city in Shansi, it was laid seige to by the rebels. He advised his followers to recite the Maháprajñá, a large Buddhist scriptural work in which the most abstract dogmas of Buddhist philosophy are fully explained. The enemy, looking towards the ramparts, thought they saw a band of spirit soldiers arrayed against them, and consequently retired.

The celebrated Eka Śloka Śástra of Nágárjuna was translated from the Sanskrit in the 6th century A.D. by Bráhmana Gautama and Prajñá rûchi, at the city of Loyang in the reign of Yuen, Wei dynasty. The śloka runs as follows:—

"My body in its nature is not permanent,
Thus, then, my body is not a body,
My body in its nature not being a body,
I, therefore, say that it is empty and not permanent."

Foreign Buddhist Embassies to China

The king of Punam, the ancient* Siam, sent an embassy to his Court at Nanking with a letter and some remarkable relics. Priests were sent from the Chinese Court to meet the embassy and to bring the relics with due honour. In 523 A.D., the king of Panpan in ancient Burmah sent an embassy to him with a real relic (śaríra) of Buddha, a miniature *Chaitya* and a few leaves of the Bodhi tree as presents. Another king in the Burmese peninsula had a dream, in which a priest appeared to him, and foretold that the new prince of the Liang dynasty would soon raise Buddhism to the summit of prosperity, and that he would do well to send an embassy to him. The king paying no attention to this, the priest again appeared in a dream and conducted him to the Court of Liang Wuti. On awaking the king who was himself an accomplished painter, drew the likeness of the Emperor as he had seen him in the dream. He now sent ambassadors and an artist with instructions to [37] paint the likeness of the Emperor from life. On comparing it with his own picture the similarity was found to be good. This Emperor, so zealous a promoter of Buddhism in the 26th year of his reign (year 527), became a monk, and entered the Tung-thi monastery in Nanking. A few years afterwards he rebuilt the Chang Tsien monastery of Nanking which contained one of Aśoka's *Chaityas.*

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* According to S. Beal, Funam was ancient Cambodia. [37]

During the reign of this Emperor, ambassadors from the country of Kaoli (Corea) came to invite Indian pandits. With their help, the Corean characters were formed.

Many embassies came from the countries lying between India and China to the Court of Emperor Wenti of the Sung dynasty. Their chief object was to congratulate the ruling Emperor on the prosperity of Buddhism in his dominions, and to pave the way for frequent intercourse on the ground of identity in religion. Two letters of Viśva Varma, king of Arakan, to this Emperor are preserved in the history of Sung dynasty. He described his kingdom as lying in the shadow of the Himalayas, whose snows feed the streams that watered it. He praises China (China-tan or China sthán) as the most prosperous of kingdoms and its rulers as the benefactors and civilizers of the world.

The Indian monarch Jiva Vada of Magadha addressed Emperor Wenti in glowing language. He had given rest to the inhabitants of heaven and earth, subjected the four guardian spirits, caused the wheel of the honoured law to revolve, saved multitudes of living beings, and by the renovating power of the Buddhist religion brought them the happiness of Nirvána. Relics of Buddha were widely spread—numberless pagodas erected. All the treasures of the sacred religion (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) were beautiful in appearance, and firm in their foundation as the Sumeru mountain. The diffusion of the sacred books and the law of BUDDHA were like the bright shining of the sun, and the assembly of priests, pure in their lives, was like the marshalled constellations of heaven, though separated by a wide sea, it was his wish to have embassies passing and repassing between the two countries.

To the same Emperor the king of Sinhala had also sent an embassy. In his letter, the king said that though the countries are distant three years' journey by sea and land, there are constant communications between them. The king also mentioned the attachment of his ancestors to the worship of BUDDHA. [38]

The next of these curious memorials from Buddhist kings to the same emperor Wenti was a letter from the king of Kapilavásta, the birth-place of BUDDHA.

Dr. Edkins, in his work on Buddhism, while alluding to the early relation of Japan with China, observes:—"From the extended sketch given of Japanese intercourse with China in the "Sung History" it appears that the object of the majority of the embassies then and previously was a Buddhist one. Monks were the ambassadors; books of that religion, such as were known in Japan only by name, were asked for; remarkable places, like Wu-thai (Pancha Kûta) mountain in Shensi, were visited. At least, however, it indicates that the Buddhist priests in Japan possessed for a long period great political influence."

In the history of China, four great stages of literary and natural development have been mentioned. Of these four, the third, which is assigned to the Buddhists, extended over six dynasties. The riches of the country were lavished on Buddhist structures. In all parts of the Empire, people adopted Buddhism; Indian astronomy and mythology, the knowledge of the alphabet and of tones, and the introduction of Buddhist metaphysics date from this time. The Buddhists became a power in literature and founded a native school of Indian philosophy. The Buddhists brought with them the notion of pictorial illustration.

During the reign of Sung Emperor, Pandit Dánarakshita and Dharmabhadra, visited China to teach white Tantrikism, but mysticism did not make much progress there.

Hiuen-tshang

In the year 629 the celebrated Hiuen-tshang set out on his journey to India on pilgrimage and to procure Sanskrit books. Passing from Liangchow at the north-western extremity of China, he proceeded westward to the regions watered by the Oxus (*Sita*) and the Jaxartes (*Pakshu*), where the Turks were then settled. He afterwards crossed the Hindukush, and proceeded to India. He travelled over Aryavarta and visited all the sacred places of Buddhist celebrity. Then bending his steps southwards he completed the tour of the Indian Peninsula, returned across the Indus, and reached home in the sixteenth year after his departure. The Emperor T'ai-tsun summoned him to his presence to answer for his conduct in leaving the country and undertaking so long a journey without the Imperial permission. The Emperor, after listening to [39] his account of what he had seen, commanded him to write a description of the western countries, and the work called Ta-t'ang Si-yu-ki was the result. Hiuen-tshang went to Changan (Sian-fu) to translate and was assisted by twelve monks. Nine others were appointed to revise the composition. Some who had learned Sanskrit also joined him in the work. On presenting a series of translations to the Emperor, he wrote a preface to them; and at the request of Hiuen-tshang issued an edict that five new monks should be received in every convent in the empire. The convents then amounted to 3,716. He lived nineteen years after his return, and spent nearly the whole of that in translating. He completed 740 works in 1,335 books.

The Tibetan works give us further insight into the life of this eminent traveller Hiuen-tshang. While eleven years old, he committed to memory the Vimala Krita Sûtra and Saddharma Pundarika. At the age of twenty-nine he is said to have learnt the Prákrit language of India. Jetári, an illustrious sage was his preceptor. At the grand monastery of Nálanda, he studied the Yogacharya philosophy under the celebrated Buddhist professor Dantabhadra or Danta Sena, who was then in his 106th year. Some scholars identify this Danta Sena with Acharya Danta Sena, the pupil of Vinayabhadra. Besides, Jetári and Danta Sena there were other Pandits from whom he received instructions in Buddhist philosophy. He studied Indian philosophies of various schools, and wrote a book based on Maháyána principles, called the Extinguisher of Heresy containing 6,600 slokas, the excellence of which struck the Indian scholars of that age with wonder. Again Pandit Haraprabha having written a treatise in refutation of Yogacharya tenets, Hiuen-tshang also wrote a volume containing 8,000 slokas, called Ekánta Siddha, which he presented to his teacher Dantabhadra. All these works being written in the Sanskrit language, the Chinese philosopher became very famous. The people of Aryavarta gave him the name of Maháyána Deva. Some of the Indian Achâryas became his pupils in Buddhist philosophy, and king Śiláditya and king Kumara and Dhátu Bhadra, king of Southern India and several other princes treated him with great reverence. Among the numerous Chinese Buddhists who visited India Hiuen-tshang was the only one who obtained the exalted title of Paṇdita, and enjoyed the veneration of Indian kings. Hiuen-tshang resided at Nálanda, the famous Buddhist monastery of Magadha. It was of [40] great size, and lasted a thousand years. He found there ten thousand monks living in six large buildings forming together one great monastic establishment, the most splendid structure in all India. It was celebrated as a place for the study of Bráhmanical books and those of Buddhist doctrine, called Maháyána.

In the year 690 A.D. a new Buddhist Sûtra, called the Jimûta Sûtra, was presented to Wu, the mother of the sixth T'ang Emperor. People called her as the incarnate Mañjuśrí. She ordered this book to be circulated throughout the Empire, and she conferred high offices on two or three Buddhist priests.

In 705 A.D. the Indian Pandit Paramitra translated the work, called Leng-yen-King, which, as far as its translation is concerned, is regarded as one of the best finished pieces in literature. He was assisted in this work by Yung-pi, a Chinese, and Mriga Śákya, a native of Udyána, a country lying west of Kashmir.

Bráhmanical Astronomy introduced in China

About the end of the seventh century, while the T'ang dynasty still held sway over China, Bráhmans were employed to regulate the national calendar. The first mentioned is Gautamara, whose method of calculation was called Kwang-tse-li, the calendar of the bright house. It was used for three years only. A better-known Buddhist astronomer of India was Gautama Siddha. By Imperial command he translated from Sanskrit

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the mode of astronomical calculation, called Kien-chi-shu. It embraced the calculation of the moon's course and of the eclipses. His calendar of this system was adopted for a few years, when it was followed in 721 A.D. by that of the well-known Yih-King, a Chinese Buddhist priest, whose name holds a place in the fore rank of native astronomers. The translations of Gautama Siddha are contained in the work, called Kai-Yuen—Chan-king, a copy of which was accidentally discovered in the latter part of the 16th century, inside an image of BUDDHA. It has been engraved on wooden boards more than once since that time. Among other things there is a short notice of the Indian arithmetical notation with its nine symbols and a dot for a cypher. Among other Buddhist translations a book is mentioned under the title of Bráhmanical astronomy—Polomentien-wen in twenty chapters. It was translated in the sixth century by Mahárucbi, a native of the Malava kingdom. An account of astronomy by Garga Rishi is also mentioned. All [41] these works and several others, which are hopelessly lost, bear incontestable testimony to the efforts made by the Indian Buddhists to diffuse the science and civilization of their native land in China. The native mathematicians of the time might have received assistance from these sources or from the numerous Indians who lived in China during the reign of the T'ang dynasty.

The Yogacharya School of the Buddhists, founded by Arya Samga, the great sage of Achinta monastery, now called Ajunta, was introduced into China by the Sinhalese priest called Amogha-vajra. He exercised great influence over the Emperor, who appointed him to a high Government Office, and conferred on him the first title of the ancient Chinese nobility. Owing to his exertions monasteries and monks fast multiplied under imperial favour. In the year 768 at full moon of the seventh month, a *pinda pátra*, bowl for feeding the *Pretas* (manes of the dead), was brought in State by the Emperor's command from the palace, and presented to the Chang-Kingssi-temple. From the historical records of China it appears that the Indian Pandits seldom visited it after this period, which was the close of the 8th century.

Amogha-vajra possessed wonderful saintly powers. Once on a time, as he was travelling, a herd of elephants rushed towards him. He sat quietly on the way-side. The elephants all knelt down before him, and then retired. When he came to China, he produced, it is said, a great reformation of manners in court and country, and was reverenced as a divine personage.

The Indian Buddhists, who died in China, were all buried according to the Chinese customs. Then their bodies were not permitted to be burnt. Those who among them were renowned for learning, and saintly attributes were honoured with tablets erected under government orders in temples to preserve their memory. During the 7th century, fifty Buddhist temples were furnished with monumental tablets presented by the Emperors of the Great T'ang dynasty. In most of these temples were also deposited collections of Sanskrit books together with their translations in Chinese made with the aid of the Indian Buddhists.

The Wu mei sect in China (as described by Edkins)

This branch of the esoteric school of Buddhism, established by Bodhi Dharma, deserves notice. The founder of this sect was a native of Lai-cheu-fu, in Shantung. He was first honoured, then disgraced and then again [42] reverenced by the Ming Emperor of the period called Chante. He is called Lo-tsu, meaning the sage of Lo. His school is now paramount in the Eastern Provinces of China. During my residence at Peking, I paid a visit to a monastery belonging to Lo-tsu School, which is called by the Taoist, and the Confucists under the nickname of *We-wei-kian* or do-nothing sect. The monastery was of plain structure and destitute of images with the exception of a statue of BUDDHA. It contained Chinese tablets to heaven, earth, king, parents, and teachers, as objects of reverence. According to this sect DHARMA consists, not in ceremonies and outward show, but in stillness in a quiet meditative life, and in an inward reverence, for the all pervading BUDDHA. Hence the want of images and other representations of outward forms here. Lo-tsu is said to have attracted the attention of the Ming Emperor by his power of working miracles. Once on a time a hundred thousand foreign soldiers had invaded China, and an army of ten times that number had been sent out to repel them. The army failed in its enterprise, and Lo-tsu offered to the commander to drive back the invaders. He shot an arrow into the air, when a lotus flower descended making a loud thunder-like clap, and the enemy seeing it became terrified and immediately fled.

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The Confucist ministers of the Court interpreted this as an act of magic and advised the Emperor to starve him to death. His friend, among whom were three state officials of high rank, interceded for him, and reinstated him to the Imperial favour. At this juncture seven Buddhist priests from the West arrived at Court, bringing a brass image of Buddha with them as a present for the Emperor. Lo-tsu was asked to hold a discussion with them. He was introduced as the Wu-mei-tan jen, (the religious man who maintains the principle of non-action). The foreign priests asked him why he assumed this name. "By means of it," he replied, "I shall be able to overturn your brass Buddha of three thousand pounds weight today. Men do not know this principle, and therefore they seek for false doctrine. My method is clear and perfect, it is suited for the whole world." To this, one of the foreign priests replied: "Do not use boastful words; I can make a gourd sink to the bottom of the sea and iron tongs float on the surface. Can you do so?" To this Lo-tsu replied:—"Man's nature is like the full moon, which, when it merges from the horizon, shines to the bottom of the sea across the surface, and everywhere. To sink and to float, then become the same. When my *nature* like [43] the moon shines bright and clear, my life returns to the bottom of the sea. In view of my spiritual nature, iron may float, and the gourd may sink."

The foreign priest: Why did he not chant books of prayers?

Lo-tsu: that Dharma is spontaneous, man's nature is the same with heaven (sûnyatá). The true unwritten book is always rotating. All heaven and earth are repeating the words of truth. The true book (Dharma) is not outside of a man's self. But the deluded are ignorant of this, and they, therefore, chant books of prayers. The law that is invisible manifests itself spontaneously, and needs no book. The flowing of water, the rushing of the winds, constitute a great chant, why, then, recite prayers from book?—He was again asked why he did not worship images. He answered: "A brazen Buddha melts, and a wooden Buddha burns, when exposed to the fire. An earthen Buddha cannot save itself from water. It cannot save itself; then how can it save me? In every particle of dust there is a (*Buddha Kshetra*) world, ruled by a Buddha. In every temple the King of the Law resides. The mountains, the rivers, and the great earth form Buddha's image. Why, then, carve or mould, an image of him?

Again when asked why he does not burn incense? He replied: "Ignorant men do not know that every one has incense in himself. What is the true incense? It is self-government, wisdom, patience, mercy, freedom from doubts, and knowledge. The pure doctrine of Sûnyatá is true incense, pervading all heaven and earth. Incense is everywhere ascending. That incense which is made by man being the smoke of fragrant woods, does not reach heaven. The winds, clouds, and dews are true incense, always shedding themselves forth through the successive seasons of the year." When asked why he did not light candles? He answered: "That the world is a candlestick. Water is oil. The sky is an encircling shadow. The sun and moon are the flame lighting up the universe. If there is light within me, it illumines all heaven and earth. If my own nature be always bright, heaven will never become dark. It will then be perceived that the King of Law is limitless." When the discussion was over, the seven priests all confessed their ignorance of the true DHARMA, and begged to be Lo-tsu's pupils. The Emperor was highly pleased with him, and ordered his books to be engraved. They were published in the year 1518 A.D. [44]

LECTURE III

BENGAL PANDITS IN TIBET

Introduction

THE accounts that I have given you of the Missionary activity of the Indian Buddhists being gathered from incidental notices of holy men contained in the dynastic histories of China, cannot fail to be meagre. The names of such scholars as had attracted the notice of those sovereigns of China who had favoured Buddhism have been preserved in the State records. In fact, very little is known of the vast body of Indian Buddhists who in their peculiarly quiet ways worked for the diffusion of the Buddhist creed among the teeming millions of China. The Chinese have been a civilized nation from early times. Compared with the antiquity of their civilization, that of Babylon, Egypt and Greece falls into insignificance. The early religion of the Chinese with the great Heaven as the Father and the Earth as the Mother was of a theistic character, for on the Emperor alone was enjoined the duty of worshipping the great God whose majesty no ordinary mortal should approach except the Heaven appointed ruler of the Celestial Empire.

Two eminent sages appeared in China about six hundred years before the birth of Christ who built their religions upon the early simple faith of the Chinese. To speak in the language of Dr. Edkins: "Khungfu-tse (Confucius) found a religion already existing in China with a very practical system of morals which first and last has always given it its practical character."

He founded on this his own religion which continues to be the creed of the literature of the present day. He had three thousand disciples at the beginning, to aid him, in promulgating his ethical creed in which there was nothing ascetical or spiritual. The questions to which it replied were:—"How shall I do my duty to my neighbour? How shall I best discharge the duty of a virtuous citizen?" It attempted no reply to the higher questions:—"How am I connected with the spiritual world beyond what I see? What is the destiny of immaterial nature? How can I rise above the dominion of the passions, and of the senses?"

These thoughtful questions remained unanswered for a long time. It was reserved for the religion of BUDDHA after six hundred years to reply to these inquiries. The Buddhist Missionaries, ever alive to the commands of the immortal Sage, in the middle of the first century A.D. proceeded to the far East to work in the Buddhist propaganda. BUDDHA's commands were written in letters of gold, on adamant as it were, to last for upwards of twelve centuries without being deteriorated in the least way. They were handed [45] down from generation to generation till the thirteenth century A.D. when all Asia became converted to Buddhism. They were delivered in the following words:—

"Bhikshus, I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. Go ye now, O Bhikshus, and wander for the gain of many, for the welfare of many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain and for the welfare of gods and men. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation. Go then through every country, convert those not yet converted; throughout the world that lies burnt up with sorrow, teach everywhere: go, therefore, each one travelling by himself filled with compassion, go, rescue and receive."

Contemporaneous with Confucius was Laou-tsou the founder of Taouism, the second religion of China, who meditated in a philosophic mood upon the more profound necessities and capacities of the human being. But his religion in course of time degenerated into priestcraft. Like Tantrikism it is at the present day no better than what is understood by the term fetichism or demon worship. These two religions operated in China for upwards of six centuries before Buddhism entered the land of Han. Their followers had strenuously exerted themselves to thwart the attempts of the early Missionaries of India to propagate Buddhism in China. We are told by Christian Missionary writers that thirteen years before the Indian Bráhmans, Mátanga and Subhárana, reached China, the first Missionaries of Christendom had crossed the Ægean Sea and entered Europe. Instead of being received, however, with the smiles of those in power, and enjoying imperial hospitality they were publicly whipped and imprisoned by the Magistrate of a Roman Colony and ignominiously dismissed. It is true that the first Indian Missionaries visited China at the invitation of the great Han Emperor Ming-Ti, but it was not until the followers of Confucius and Laou-tsou had exhausted their weapons of persecution on them, that they were admitted into Imperial favour.

The Missionary activity of the early Christians of Rome and Greece, in many respects resembled that of the Indian Buddhists, in consequence of which they were successful in their labours to Christianize *en masse* all the nations of Europe.

The first century of the Christian era was indeed the age of Missionary enterprize. It was then that the Indian Missionaries started on their distant and perilous journey to the far East. Once introduced, Christianity continued as a living religion in Europe. Under its influence all the nations there steadily advanced in civilization and science. In India the case was otherwise. Both Hinduism and Buddhism split into different independent sects and finally languished in spite of the efforts of Nágárjuna and others to reconcile the tenets of the one with those of the other.

This state of religious difference lasted in India for about a [46] thousand years till the Mussulmans turned their victorious arms to the conquest of this ill-fated country. After the religious zeal and energies of the nations of Western and North-Western India had become paralyzed, if not altogether extinct, the superior intellect of the people of the province of Bengal shone pre-eminently in the domain of philosophy and religion. The Pandits of Bengal became the spiritual teachers of the Buddhist world.

The sovereign rulers of Eastern India, Tibet, Ceylon and Suvarnabhûmi vied with each other in showing veneration to them.

Buddhism and written language in Tibet

In the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from Nepal by the exertion of the Nepalese princess (daughter of King Aṃshu Varma) who was married to king Srong-tsan gampo, and also from China by Princess Kimshing Konjo (the daughter of Emperor Tai-tsung) who was married to the same Tibetan king. Under the auspices of these two princesses Buddhism penetrated into Tibet. They also converted the king to Buddhism who had already received information regarding the civilization and sciences of the Indians and the Chinese from his emissaries and messengers who had visited those countries. Through his endeavours the art of writing was introduced in Tibet. He established in his dominion the laws based on the ten commandments of BUDDHA, sent embassies to foreign countries and received envoys from the neighbouring states who brought presents with them. He exhorted his subjects to follow the religion of BUDDHA. By his exertions the prosperity of the country of Himavat increased. Till then there existed no written language in Tibet. The king keenly felt its want especially when it was found that his Court had no means to reply to the messages of foreign potentates. His people were ignorant of the arts and sciences of the Indians and the Chinese. In acknowledging the presents and letters of the kings of Nepal, Khotan and India, he had to rely on the verbal communications of his own envoys. With a view to remove this want and to acquire the enlightenment that his neighbours possessed, he sent seven of his young, intelligent officers to India to study the art of reading and writing.

In obedience to his commands, these young men proceeded to the Indian frontier, but before crossing the Himalaya they began to lose heart. The fear of the three kinds of demons, *viz.*, evil spirits, deadly fevers and wild animals, including poisonous snakes that abounded there, made them to retrace their steps homewards. Thereafter, Thon-mi, the son of Anu, a brave, talented minister of the king undertook to visit India for the purpose of studying the Indian languages. The king furnished him with a large quantity of gold, to enable him to make presents to the Indian princes and professors of Sanskrit learning. He travelled south- [47] ward to India and hearing the fame of a Bráhman named Lipidatta, noted for proficiency in the art of writing, he went to him. Making profound salutation to the learned Indian he addressed him thus:—

"Oh, thou incarnate sage of the divine race, who art full of mercy, and who, on account of thy moral merits art born as a Bráhman, vouchsafe unto this humble stranger a little of thy attention. By dint of the virtues of thy former life thou hast now become talented and marvellously accomplished in Agama Śástras and the art of writing. I am a minister of the king of Himavat the border country of Arya Bhûmi. My king, the sovereign ruler of Himavat ascended the throne of his ancestors at the age of thirteen and having made his people happy with the doctrine of BUDDHA, has promulgated the laws based on the ten commandments within his dominions. In my country no kind of written language is known, none of my countrymen can read or write. The king has therefore sent me to this country with presents to wait upon Indian professors for acquiring a knowledge of the art of writing. May I therefore approach thee with the humble prayer of being granted a knowledge of the words and letters of Sanskrit, the language of the gods." So saying he prostrated himself before the learned Bráhman and begged for his gracious acceptance of a little present of gold. Lipidatta received the gold and said in reply:—"Hear me, oh minister, Thon-mi, you are the son of blessed parents. You are a minister of the king, who rules in Himavat. You are intelligent and talented, and meditate upon the two great noble truths, I shall certainly teach you the art of writing and reading and the various sciences as well as versification and other arts of a wonderful nature." So saying, he conducted him to his house which was built of precious stones and began to give him lessons in writing. Thon-mi applied himself assiduously to the study of Sanskrit, and soon made a remarkable progress. His intellect developed and the lamp of knowledge being lighted he learned the sections of Nágari and Gáthá characters. Having finished his education under Lipidatta he proceeded to the great monastery of Śrí Nálanda and having placed himself under the tuition of Achárya Devavid Simha he studied the sacred literature of the Bráhmans and Buddhists.

While Thon-mi Sambhoṭa was studying at Nálanda, the great Chinese pilgrim-traveller Hiuen Tshang visited the monastery. The splendour and usefulness of that institution increased in the first century B.C. by Saraha the tutor and spiritual guide of Nágárjuna were still undiminished. In the words of Hiuen Tshang "the Sangháramas (Buddhist monasteries) of India were counted by myriads, but the one at Nálanda was the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests belonging to the convent or strangers residing therein always reached the number of ten thousand, who all studied the Maháyána, and also [48] belonging to eighteen sections, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the Hetuvidyá, Śabdavidyá, and Chikitsávidyá, the works on the Atharva Veda, the Śánkhya; * * * these they thoroughly investigate."

Bengal Pandits in the Buddhist Propaganda

In the beginning of the eighth century A.D. two eminent Pandits of Bengal visited Tibet at the invitation of King Thi-srong-deu-tsan and formally introduced the religion of BUDDHA there. Henceforth Bon ceased to be the state religion of Tibet. Śánta Rakshita, a native of Gaur, who was the High Priest of the monastery of Nálanda, was invited by the King. He was received by the Tibetans with all the honours due to his high position as the spiritual teacher of the king of Magadha. They gave him the name of Achárya Bodhisattva.

King Thi-srong-deu-tsan than whom a more enlightened and powerful monarch never ruled in Tibet appointed him as the High Priest of Tibet and under his direction for the first time introduced the system of Buddhist monachism which is now known as Lamaism in Tibet. While Śánta Rakshita attended to the moral and disciplinary part of the church, his eminent co-adjutor, the sage Padma Sambhava, a native of Udyána took charge of the Tantrik part of the Buddhist liturgy. At this time a Chinese Missionary in the person of Hoshang Maháyána visited Tibet to preach Buddhism. His doctrines being to a great extent at variance with those of Śánta Rakshita and Padma Sambhava, a great controversy arose between the Indian and the Chinese Schools. Hoshang was found to be more than a match for the Indian Achárya in religio-metaphysical discussions. The Indian Pandits induced the king to send for the great Buddhist philosopher of Magadha named Kamala Śíla, whose fame had already spread far and wide. Accordingly, Kamala Śíla visited Tibet and in the presence of the assembled Court came out victorious over the Chinese sage and won the laurels from the monarch's hand. Thi-srong-deu-tsan placed him at the head of the metaphysical branch of the Buddhist Church and ordered the vanquished Hoshang to leave the country.

In the ninth century many learned Pandits from Bengal were invited to Tibet by king Ralpachan and employed by him in translating Sanskrit works into Tibetan.

Indian Pandits who worked in the Buddhist Propaganda and were engaged in translating Sanskrit works into Tibetan, were the following:—Śánta Rakshita, Padma Sambhava, Dharma Kírti, Vimala Mitra, Buddha Guhya, Śánti Garbha, Visuddhī Siṃha, Kamala Śíla, Kusara, Sankara Bráhman, Śíla Manju of Nepal, Ananta Varhman, Kalyána Mitra, Jina Mitra, Surendra Bodhi, Śílendra Bodhi, Dána Śíla, Bodhi Mitra, Munī Varma, Sarvajña Deva, Vidyákara [49] Prabha, Śraddhákara Varma, Mukti Mitra, Buddha Śrí, Buddha Pála, Dharma Pála, Prajñá Pála, Subháshita, Prajñá Varma, Dípankara Śríjñána, Dána Śrí (his nephew), Smriti Jñána Kírti, Sangha Śrí, Jñána Śrí of Kásmir, Chandra Rahula, Dhíra Pála, Atûlya Dása, Sumatī Kírti, Amara Chandra, Vindu Kumbha, Kumára Kumbha, Kanaka Varma, Sadbhárata, Jayánanta, Gayádhara, Amogha Vajra, Somanátha, Sunyatá Samádhi Vajra, Jñána Vajra, Prajñá Guhya, Maháyána Vajra, Vála Chandra, Mantra Kaluksha, Sugata Śrí, Jamári, Vairochana, Manju Ghosha, Sûrya Kírti, Prajñá Śríjñána, Gangádhara, Dhana Gupta, Samanta Śrí, Nishkalankadeva, Jagat Mitránandi, Buddha Śríjñána, Śákya Śríbhadra of Kásmir, Vibhuti Chandra, Dána Śíla, Sangha Śrí, Sambhoga Vajra, Ratna Śrí, Mahárajña of Nepal, Vajra Kírti of Nepal, Gayá Śrí of Nepal, Kírti of Nepal, Kumara, Sanátana Śrí, Sádhu Kírti, Vinaya Śrí, Śíla Śrí, Maṇḍala Śrí, Vimala Śrí, Darpan Achárya, Jayadeva, Lakshmíkara, Ratna Śrí, Ananta Śrí, Ráhula Śrí, a *guru* from Támra Dvipa, Kírti Pandita and others.

About this time the Pála dynasty was established on the throne of Bengal. At the time when king Mahí Pála was ruling the destinies of the Empire of Magadha, Dípankara Śríjñána had already acquired the fame of being the first Buddhist scholar of India. After his return from Suvarnadvipa, he was residing at Vajrásana (Buddha Gayá). King Mahí Pála invited him to Vikrama Śilá. Mahí Pála was succeeded on the throne by Naya Pála. The former was a contemporary of king Lha Lama of Tibet.

Life of Dípankara Śrí Jnána—ATISA

Dípankara was born A.D. 980 in the royal family of Gaur at Vikramanipur in Bangala, a country lying to the east of Vajrásana. His father called *Dge-vahi dpal* in Tibetan, *i.e.*, "Kalyána Śrí" and his mother Prabhávatí gave him the name of Chandragarbha, and sent him while very young to the sage Jetári, an *Avadhut* adept for his education. Under Jetári he studied the five kinds of minor sciences, and thereby paved his way for the study of philosophy and religion.

As he grew in age he acquired proficiency in the three *piṭakas* of the four classes of the Hínayána Śrávakas, in the Vaiseshika philosophy, in the three *piṭakas* of the Maháyána doctrine, the high metaphysics of the Mádhyamíka and Yogácharya schools and the four classes of Tantras. Having acquired the reputation of being a great pandit in the Śástras of the Tírthikas, he defeated a learned Bráhman in disputation. Then, preferring the practice of religion to the ease and pleasures of this world, he commenced the study of the meditative science of the Buddhists which consists of the Trisikshá or the three studies—morality, meditation and divine learning—, and for this purpose he went to the *vihára* of Krishnagiri to receive his lessons from Ráhula Gupta. Here he was given [50] the secret name of Guhyajñána Vajra, and initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from Śíla Rakshita the Mahásánghika Achárya of Odantapuri who gave him the name of Dípankara Śríjñána. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained in the highest order of Bhikshu and also given the vows of a Bodhisattva by Dharma Rakshita. He received lessons in metaphysics from several eminent Buddhist philosophers of Magadha. Lastly, reflecting on the theory of "the evolution of all matters from voidity" he acquired what is called the "far-seeing wisdom."

On account of these divers attainments which moved his mind variously in different directions, he resolved to go to Achárya Chandrakírti the High Priest of Suvarnadvipa.* Accordingly in the company of some merchants he embarked for Suvarnadvipa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months during which the travellers were overtaken by terrible storms. At this time Suvarnadvipa* was the head-quarter of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest was considered as the greatest scholar of his age. Dípankara resided there for a period of twelve years in order to completely master the pure teachings of BUDDHA of which the key was possessed by the High Priest alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a sailing vessel visiting Támradvipa (Ceylon) and the island of forests on his way. Returning to Magadha he sought the company of many eminent sages, such as Śánti, Naropánta, Kusala, Avadhuti, Tombhi and others.

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* Sudharmanagar in Pegu now called, Thaton. [51]

The Buddhists of Magadha now acknowledged him as their chief and unanimously declared him to be the hierarch of Magadha. During his residence at the shrine of Mahá Bodhi at Vajrasana he thrice defeated the Tírthika heretics* in religious controversy, and thereby maintained the superiority of Buddhism over all other religions in Magadha. At the request of king Naya Pála he accepted the post of High Priest of Vikrama Śilá. At this time Magadha was invaded by the king of Kárnya (probably Kánauj). Naya Pála's armies first suffered a defeat at the hands of the enemy who had advanced up to the capital. The Magadha king was victorious at last when his enemy sued for peace, and a treaty was signed by which friendship was established between the two kingdoms. In this treaty Dípankara took an active part. It was he who brought about a reconciliation between the king of Kárnya and Naya Pála.

The King of Tibet. His anxiety to reform Buddhism

Lha Lama Yes'e *hod*, king of Tibet, who held his court at Tholin in Nah-ri was a devout Buddhist. He ruled peacefully over his [51] country for many years. About the year 1025 A.D., he founded the monastery of Thoding at Tholin (the lofty place) in Purάng. With a view to introduce pure Buddhist monachism in Tibet, he selected seven intelligent lads, each ten years old, and carefully trained them up in Tibetan. Then, with the consent of their parents, he admitted them into the sacerdotal order. When these lads advanced in their study of the sacred books and became initiated in the practice of monastic discipline, he appointed two novice monks (*Śramanera*) to attend to each of them, and thereby increased the strength of his institution to twenty-one. Not satisfied with the Buddhist teachers of Tibet, whose cult had become greatly debased by the admixture of Tantrik and Bon mysticism, he sent these young monks to Kásmir, Magadha and other places of India where pure Buddhism still prevailed, with a view to their studying the philosophy of Ananda Garbha of Kásmir and the Vinaya-code of monastic discipline. He commanded them to invite to Tibet, if possible, the renowned Kásmirian Pandit Ratna Vajra and the Buddhist hierarch of Magadha and other holy men whose acquaintance they might make during their sojourn in India. He also instructed them to ascertain if there were any other Pandits who, when invited, would be useful to the cause of Buddhist reformation in Tibet. Accordingly they proceeded to India in search of knowledge and holy men, bidding a long farewell to their native country. Though the king succeeded in getting the services of thirteen Indian Pandits, it is said, that out of the twenty-one monks whom he had sent out to India, nineteen died there from heat, fever, snake-bite and other causes. Rinchhen zan-po, the great Locháva, and Legs pa*h*i Śerab were the only survivors who had the good luck of returning to Tibet crowned with success. They studied Sanskrit under some of the eminent scholars of India and acquired great proficiency in the Buddhist literature. Bearing in mind the instructions of their royal master, they visited Vikrama Śilá to inquire of the Śramanas if there was a saintly scholar in their midst who, when invited to Tibet, would be useful in the reformation of Buddhism. There they heard of Dípankara Śríjñána, whose spiritual attainments and learning were of a superior order, and who then occupied the highest position among the Buddhist scholars of Magadha. They were also told that he was, in fact, the second *Sarvajna* of the school of 500 Arhats which is commonly called the *Mahásánghika*. The Lochávas, however, did not venture to ask him to visit Tibet, being told that any such proposal would be premature at this time, if not absurd. On their return to Tibet they submitted an account of their experiences in India, and also of the condition of the Buddhist church of Magadha.

Greatly desirous of seeing the renowned sage of Magadha, the king commanded *R*gya-tson-gru Sengé, a native of Tag-tshal in Tsang to proceed to Vikrama Śilá, taking with him one hundred attendants and a large quantity of gold. After encountering [52] immense hardships and privations in the journey, the traveller reached Magadha. Arrived at Vikrama Śilá, he presented to Dípankara the king's letter with a large piece of bar gold as a present from his sovereign and begged him to honour his country with a visit. Hearing this, Dípankara replied:—"Then it seems to me that my going to Tibet would be due to two causes:—first, the desire of amassing gold, and second, the wish of gaining sainthood by the loving of others, but I must say that I have no necessity for gold nor any anxiety for the second at present." So saying he declined to accept the present. At this unexpected reply Gya-tson wept bitterly in his presence, wiping his tears with a corner of his sacerdotal robe. He explained to the sage that he was come from the country of Himavat thus far to Vikrama Śilá, undergoing immense privations, spending much treasure and suffering the loss of many of his companions who died of heat, fever, snake-bite and other causes, and at last he had to go back to his Sovereign depressed at heart and disappointed in his hopes. Dípankara sympathized with him and tried to console him.

On his return to Tibet the Locháva explained to his royal master the circumstance of the failure of his mission and returned the presents. Thinking that it was hopeless to bring Dípankara to Tibet, the king again commanded the Locháva to proceed to Vikrama Śilá to invite the scholar who was second to Dípankara in learning and moral purity. At this time Nag-tcho, a young monk of Gung-thán, met Gya-tson and begged to be his pupil, but the Locháva desired him to wait till his return from Magadha. He proceeded to India with five attendants and a small quantity of gold, barely enough to meet the expenses of his journey to Vikrama Śilá.

The King of Tibet Died in Captivity

The king of Tibet with a small escort proceeded to the frontier of Nepal for the purpose of collecting more gold. When he arrived at the gold mine which was discovered by his minister at a place to the south of Purang, he was encountered by the troops of the Rájá of Garlog* who professed a religion which was inimical to Buddhism. They out-numbered his followers and easily made him a captive and led him in triumph to their capital. Looking at the captive king, Lha Lama, the Rájá said:—This king is endeavouring to spread Buddhism by inviting to Tibet a Buddhist Pandit from Magadha. We shall not set him free until he becomes our vassal and embraces our religion. So saying he ordered the king to be cast into prison. Hearing the news of this calamity, his sons and nephew Chan Chûb became distressed at heart. With one hundred horsemen, the latter set out for Garlog. The Rájá being very powerful, [53] Chan Chûb hesitated to enter the enemy's territory with such a small army. Once, he thought of invading Garlog with his Tibetan armies, but lest such a step should exasperate the Rájá and induce him to kill the king, he arranged to enter into an agreement with him for ransoming his royal uncle. The Rájá agreed to release the king on either of the two conditions, *viz.*, that the king should become his vassal and embrace his creed, or that he should pay a ransom consisting of solid gold of the size and shape of the captive king's person. The second condition being more agreeable to Lha Lama than the first, his two sons sent officers to collect gold from their subjects in Tsang, U, Kham and the nine minor provinces called the Lingu. The gold that was collected and brought for ransoming the king, did not satisfy the Indian Rájá. It is said that when melted and cast to form a statue of the captive king, the gold fell short of the quantity that would be required to make its head. Thereafter, he returned the gold and threw the king into a gloomy dungeon to make him more miserable. Chan Chûb having obtained leave for an interview with the king (his uncle), went to see him in the prison. There addressing his uncle he said:—"Oh dear, kind uncle, this is the consequence of your former acts (*Karma*). It is possible for me to fight with the Rájá for your sake; but I am afraid such a step would make him more cruel towards you. He has offered to release you provided, it is agreed, that you be his vassal." Hearing this, the unhappy king replied:—"Death is more welcome to me than the vassalage of a wicked and infidel Rájá." Chan Chûb said that as the Rájá's cupidity was not satisfied, he would go to fetch more gold to effect his release. At this, the king, in his grief, with a smile, replied:—My son, you should preserve the traditions and the religion of our ancestors, that is of the utmost importance to us all. In my opinion in our country the laws based on Buddhism should be maintained. My *Karma* will not permit me to see the wished for reformation. I am now grown old, and verge on death's door. Even if you succeed in releasing me, my life may not extend to more than ten years. In none of my former births, I believe, did I die for the sake of Buddhism. This time let me, therefore, be a martyr to the cause of my religion. Do not give a grain of gold to this cruel Rájá. Take back the entire quantity of it that you may conduct religious service in the great monasteries and spend in bringing an Indian Pandit to Tibet. If ever you send any messenger to the great Indian Pandit Dípankara Śríjñána, let this message of mine be conveyed to him:— "Lha-Lama, the king of Tibet, has fallen into the hands of the Rájá of Garlog while endeavouring to collect gold for diffusing the religion of BUDDHA and for the Pandit himself. The Pandit should therefore vouchsafe his blessings and mercy unto him in all his transformed existences. The chief aim of the king's life has been to take him to Tibet to reform Bud- [54] dhism, but, alas that did not come to pass! With a longing look to the time when he could behold the Pandit's saintly face, he resigned himself absolutely to the mercy of the three Holies." With these touching words they parted, as the cruel Rájá would not let them remain together long. Chan Chûb sobbed with grief and said :—My dear uncle, oh, what miseries have overtaken you! He looked back again and again to catch a glimpse of him through the interstices of the grated door. With anxiety for his release, he returned to Tibet to collect more gold. In the meantime, Lha Lama died in prison.

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* This was either the king of Kanouj or the Raja of Gurwal. [53]

Prince Chan Chûb sends for Nag-tcho Locháva

After the death of Lha Lama, Prince Chan Chûb who had embraced a monkish life expressed his earnestness to give effect to the wishes of the late king. To the assembled ministers he said : "Now my uncle's desires should be fulfilled. Religious service on a grand scale should be performed at Lhasa and Samyé, and a great Pandit, holy and learned, should be brought here from India. The service of a worthy envoy to proceed to India is wanted." He was told that there was a certain Buddhist scholar, a native of Gûngthan, belonging to the family of Nag-tcho who was versed in Sanskrit. His name was Tshu*l* Khrim-gya*l*wa, and though a young man of twenty-seven years, he was well versed in the Vinaya (moral discipline) of Buddhist monachism and was therefore well-known under the epithet of Vinaya-dhara. As he had been to India for studying Sanskrit, the king's selection fell upon him. A messenger was accordingly despatched to summon him from Gûngthan. The messenger met his kinsman named Lhadong of Gûngthan and left with him a message to the effect that as soon as Tshu*l* Khrim returned from India, information should be given to the king. At this time Tshu*l* Khrim having studied the *Abhidharma* and other Buddhist works, during a residence of two years in India, was on his way back to Tibet. He had become an accomplished Locháva (Sanskrit interpreter) and Buddhist scholar, having translated several Sanskrit works such as the Arya Satyadvaya (two great Truths), its commentary, the Sárasangraha by Atíśa, its commentary by Bhûmigarbha, Ratnamálá, Yogacharyá, and its synopsis. At the monastery of Kusumapuri, he had translated the hymns called "Vajra-dharma Gíta." When he was residing at the monastery of Yangthog Lhakhang on his return to Tibet, his kinsmen informed the king about his arrival. They also advised him to pay his homage to the king, who for a year back had been enquiring of him.

The king of Tibet commissions Nag-tcho to proceed to Magadha

Lha-tsunpa (Chan Chûb), received Nag-tcho with kindness and said: "There has been progress as well as degeneracy of the Bud- [55] dhist faith here in this country. An old man of Brag-gyab, once described:—"In my own time, there came into existence three fashions of wearing the monkish robe." The Tantrik priests have been practising a false doctrine without having regard to the esoteric meaning of the *mantras* they recite. A certain Tantrik priest, called the Achárya Marpo, having translated a certain work on mysticism called *Mantra Vindu*, has converted most of the monks into lay Tantrikism. A certain heretic priest of the *blue robe* order has been preaching immorality and obscene doctrine. By admixture of these foreign elements the sacred doctrine of BUDDHA has been very much debased. With a view to reform the religion, the late king invited to our country thirteen learned Pandits. In spite of his endeavours in this respect our religion instead of being improved, has been rather sinking into degeneracy. Messengers were twice sent to the great monastery of Vikrama Śilá for inviting Pandit Dípankara Śríjñána. On both occasions our endeavours to get him resulted in nothing more than the loss of much gold and the death of the messengers by diseases. Now Vinaya-dhara, that you are accustomed to hot climate and are acquainted with the way to India and can talk and interpret the Indian language, you should go as our envoy to bring him to Tibet. Should Dípankara decline to come, you must try to escort one who is second to him in learning and holiness." To this, Vinaya-dhara respectfully replied:—"Gracious majesty! I pray that such a command may not fall upon my humble self. I beg to be permitted to continue in my studies without any interruption. It does not lie within my power to accomplish the mission of bringing the Indian Pandit here." The king then added :—"Vinaya-dhara, it behoves you not to disregard your Sovereign's commands. If you go this time and please him, the opportunity to please you will not be allowed to be lost. Whether you study here or in India or even if you do not study at all, you shall have to serve the State. This time under any circumstances, you should go to India." At this pressing request of the king, Vinaya-dhara could not but agree to undertake the journey. Though he was permitted to take one hundred attendants with him, Vinaya-dhara considered so many as unnecessary. He wished the party to consist of only five men. The king issued orders to furnish him with a large quantity of gold, that he might meet the expenses of his journey to India and back. A piece of bar gold weighing sixteen ounces was given for presenting to the Indian Pandit, seven ounces of gold for Vinaya-dhara's personal use, seven ounces for his expenses, five ounces for an interpreter who knew the colloquial language of the country.

Nag-tcho sets out for India

When they arrived at the Indian frontier, they halted in a bamboo house. The Achâryas (Indians) perceiving that they had [56] a large quantity of gold with them, concerted a plot to kill them. Vinaya-dhara got hint of it. In that evening the party showed no sign of leaving the place. They behaved as if they would pass the night within the bamboo shed. At dark the Indians having shut the doors of the bamboo house made arrangements to kill the travellers, but before they came to set fire to it, Vinaya-dhara with his men escaped through an opening in the bamboo wall. They travelled during the night. In the morning they met with the party of a Nepalese prince consisting of about ten men who were proceeding to Vikrama Śilá. The Napalese chief being friendly to him Vinaya-dhara travelled in his company till they reached the bank of the river Ganges. It was at sunset that the travellers arrived at the place of crossing the river, when a boat, with a party of passengers, was leaving to the opposite bank. They requested the boatman to take them across the river but he said that he could not do so just then but would come later on. After dusk the boat returned and first of all took the prince, who was a great man. It was night, on all sides there were no habitations. The Achâryas (Indian people) that lived at a distance, were bad characters. The Tírthikas and the followers of other heretical religions were unfriendly to Buddhists. The travellers, therefore, fixed their minds on the power of BUDDHA. They had come thus far to a strange country with a large quantity of gold in their possession. Not knowing where to hide it, they were unsettled. At last offering their invocations to Lord Avalokiteśvara they concealed the treasure under sand. Then thinking that the boat would not come back they made preparations to lie down and sleep, further from the place where the gold was hidden. At a late hour the *chal-chol* noise of the falling of the oars on the water was heard. The boat having returned, Vinaya-dhara said to the boatman :—"I thought you would not come back at this time." The boatman replied :—"In our country there is law. Having assured you that I would come, I could not neglect to do so or to carry you, without being liable to punishment."* They then took the gold from underneath the sand and went to the boat. Then Vinaya-dhara recited the mystic syllables "*om mani padme hum*" counting the beads of his rosary. The boatman took them in his boat and soon reached the other side of the river. He warned them not to sleep on the green sandbank or river margin, as there was some danger from venomous snakes. "Go," he said to them "right up to the monastery and stay for the night under the turret of the gate way. During the night there is no fear there. I hope no thieves will disturb you." So saying he went away. [57]

Nag-tcho arrives at Vikrama Śilá

On the bank of the river Gaṅges on a little bluff hill stood the monastery of Vikrama Śilá. Ascending the hill they arrived at the gate of the monastery when they were interrogated:—"You strangers speak like Gya-tson Sengé, where have you come from?" They said :—"We are Tibetan Lamas coming from Toi Nah-ri in Upper Tibet." The man said:—"Very well, sleep tonight in that cell near that niche, at dawn the door will be opened." There they spent the night in the *dharmasala* at the gate. They got up early in the morning and recited certain aphorisms (sûtras). In the morning as soon as the door was opened, a young man who wore a mitre-shaped cap and dressed in a robe of blanket, resembling that of a shepherd boy of Tibet, came and asked them :—"Where have you come from? Did you not meet with any dangers in the way?" They replied that they came from Nah-ri and did not encounter any troubles or dangers on the way. He then told them that Gya-tson Sengé was residing in the house assigned for the use of the Tibetans, and that they might inquire of him there. So saying he went away. Then the travellers while going to Gya-tson's place entered a low hall where they met with a venerable old man leaning on a stick, whose beard and hair had all turned yellowish brown, whose eyes were red, and body emaciated. He, too, inquired where they came from and whither would they go and why they had come there. They said that they came from Nah-ri in Tibet with a view to take Atíśa to Tibet and were now going to meet their countryman Gya-tson Sengé. "Where is his house?" they inquired of him. Then leaning on his stick the old man looked round and said :—"You Tibetans do not know how to keep matters secret. People here would not like to be told that you came here to take away their chief spiritual superior from their midst. You may safely open your mind to Atíśa, but do not be so communicative to others." So saying he came out of the hall to show Gya-tson's place. Arrived at the door, he stopped pointing to Gya-tson's place. Accordingly they entered his house and found Gya-tson engaged in reading an Indian manuscript. First of all Gya-tson inquired of them as usual whence they had come. Hearing this account, his memory was refreshed, and he exclaimed :—Are you not my pupil Nag-tcho? Nag-tcho and his companions recognised the Locháva and made presents to him of a small quantity of gold.

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* It may be noted here that king Naya Pala was reigning over the empire of Magadha which included Bengal. [57]

Gya-tson—Have you come to study or to invite the Pandit to Tibet ?

Nag-tcho—Sir, the king of Tibet has sent us here to escort the Pandit.

Gya-tson—What Pandit?

Nag-tcho—Our instructions are to invite Atíśa, failing him to [58] take the Pandit who is next to him. Would you kindly let us know the name of the Pandit who is second to Atíśa in learning and holiness ?

Gya-tson—"There are many eminent Pandits under Atíśa, who are like the stars of heaven:—*viz.*, Ratna Kírti, Vairochana Rakshita, Kanaka Śrí of Nepal, and others. Though there are so many Pandits, they would not be of any service to Tibet. Atíśa being possessed of an extraordinary intellect and moral excellence would be of real service to our country, should we succeed to take him there. It would not be wise to give out that you have come here to invite him." He also advised Nag-tcho to be a resident pupil of Sthavira Ratnákara. "Here in this monastery Sthavira Ratnákara is most influential. Besides being the superior of the monastery, he is also the chief of Atíśa. You should study under him and gain his confidence by your good behaviour and assiduity in study. You must not in any way displease him. Now, you go to him with half an ounce of gold and presenting it to him solicit for admission into the monastery as his pupil. Then when Atíśa comes to our place, we shall offer our prayer to him to visit our country." At this Nag-tcho begged him to show Jovo (Prabhu) Atíśa. Gya observed, "We Tibetans have no influence here, but still I am well-known to Atíśa. He likes me. To-morrow there will be a grand congregation of all classes of monks at Vikrama when 8,000 Bhikshus will assemble together. In their midst he who will appear very bright, venerable, exalted and majestic in appearance should be recognised as Atíśa. Nag-tcho in his own narrative wrote:—

"Then accompanied by Gya-tson Sengé, I went to Sthavira Ratnákara, made profound salutation, presented him with half an ounce of gold, and made prayers to him as advised by the Locháva. Sthavira Ratna said :—'Your desire to study is praiseworthy; have an earnest mind to devote yourself to the cause of Buddhism. Do you work with zeal. With the help of Gya-tson Sengé apply yourself assiduously to the study of the sacred books, and be a Buddhist scholar. I shall help you as much as I can, so that afterwards you may think well of us the Indian Buddhists.' In this manner he expressed himself to me very kindly in sweet language."

Religious Assembly at Vikrama Śilá

"In the morning at 8 o'clock, when the monks congregated together, being conducted by the Sthavira, I was given a seat in the rank of the learners.

Then first of all the venerable Vidyá Kokila came to preside over the assembly. His appearance was noble and majestic. He sat exalted and steady like the Sumeru mountain. I asked those near me, if he was not Jovo (Lord) Atíśa. "What do you say, Oh Tibetan [59] Ayusmat. This is the very reverend Lama Vidyá Kokila, who, being a lineal disciple of Achárya Chandra Kírti has become a saintly sage. Do not you know that he was the teacher of Jova Atíśa?" Then again pointing to another Achárya who was seated at the head of a row I inquired if he was not Atíśa. I was told that he was the venerable Naropanta, who for his scholarship in the sacred literature has no equal among the Buddhists. He too was Atíśa's tutor. At this time when my eyes were roving to find out Atíśa, the Rájá of Vikrama Śilá came and took an exalted seat but none of the monks old or young rose from their seats to mark his arrival. Then another Pandit came in a grave solemn mood moving slow by. Many young Ayusmats rose from their seats to receive him with offerings of incense. The Rájá also rose from his seat to do him honour. On the Rájá's rising up the monks and the Pandits also got up from their seats respectfully. The Lama was seated on a reserved seat. Thinking that as so much honour was shown to the Lama, he must be some royal monk or some venerable Sthavira or Atíśa himself, I wished to know who he was. I was told that he was Víra Vajra, a stranger whose residence was not known to them. When I interrogated how learned he was, they said that they were not aware of the extent of his attainments.

When all the rows of seats were filled up, there came Jovo Atíśa, the venerable of all venerables, in all his glory at whose sight the eyes felt no satiety. His graceful appearance and smiling face struck every one of the assembly. From his waist hung down a bundle of keys. The Indians, Nepalese and Tibetans all looked at him and took him for a countryman of their own. Even the gods would own him for their own. There was brightness mixed with simplicity of expression in his face which acted as a magic spell upon those who beheld him.

Nag-tcho meets Atíśa

"In the following morning I went to the door of a Vihára (monastery). While I was reciting the *prajná-sára*, a venerable Achárya with bright looks and smiles in his face entered the

Vihára. Observing the simple, unostentatious demeanour which marked him I resolved within myself :—If we fail to take Atísa to our country, this Pandit might as well serve our purpose. Next morning I happened to be at the place where that venerable Achárya was distributing alms and food to the poor and making offerings to spirits. A beggar boy who failed to get his share of alms ran after him and exclaimed :—"Bhálá ho O, Náth Atísa, Bhát-ona Bhát-ona." Blest be thou O patron Atísa! give me rice." Hearing this I became delighted. Tears of joy flowed from my eyes. I followed him as he walked towards his place, and was about to fall from a bridge while walking over it, my attention being wholly engrossed [60] upon Atísa. He recognised me as a Tibetan and said :—'Ah Tibetan Ayusmat! you are earnest men, do not shed tears. I have much regard for the Tibetan people,—your king and ministers. You have again come for me without losing heart, offer your prayers to the three Holies.' As soon as these words dropped from his lips, I became hopeful and cheerful."

One day when he was alone Gya-tson Sengé called Nag-tcho to his house and both went together to Atísa's place. He placed the piece of bar gold which Nag-tcho had brought with him from Tibet, on a circular tray about a foot and a half in diameter containing other offerings and called Maṇḍala or the cycle of offerings, which Atísa generally used to place near his pillow for consulting his tutelary deities. Putting the gold dust in a small bag he presented them to Atísa. He minutely described the circumstances connected with the king of Tibet who was an incarnate Bodhisattva and related the history of the rise and progress of Buddhism under his ancestors, the patriarch kings of Tibet, and how the sacred religion was destroyed by Landarma, the apostate king. He also described the revival of the Buddhist monachism in Kham during the hierarchy of La Chenpo and the attempts that king Lha Lama had made to reform Tibetan Buddhism by inviting to Tibet Buddhist Pandits from Káśmir and other places of India. He fully narrated to Atísa the debased form of Buddhism which then prevailed in his country. Gya-tson continued :—

Now again the saintly king of Tibet has sent this Ayusmat (pointing to Nag-tcho) to ask your holiness to grant him a reply and to inquire if it would please your holiness to cast a gracious look upon his benighted country. To this Atísa replied :— "The king of Tibet is a Bodhisattva. His three illustrious ancestors were indeed incarnate saints. Gon-pa-sal, the son of Lamu, whose religious name was Gé-wa-sal La Chenpo, was a still greater saint than they, otherwise he could not have revived fire in the dead embers of Buddhism. Lha Lama and his nephew Chan Chûb being saintly persons it behoves me not to act contrary to their wish. I do keenly feel compassion for them. What personal sacrifices have they not made for my sake! A good deal of their wealth and men have been wasted. I feel for you, oh Tibetans! What troubles have you not undergone on my account. I have now grown advanced in age and have the keys of many monasteries in my charge and good many works still remain unfinished. So I cannot shortly set out for Tibet. But, however, in the meantime I shall consult my tutelary deities about it to know, whether I would be of service to your country and the religion of BUDDHA if I go there. Presently do you take back the gold?" So saying he returned the treasure. [61]

Atísa Consults the Oracles about his going to Tibet

That night Atísa made preparations for conducting a religious service before the image of the goddess Tárá. Placing the *maṇḍala* (cycle of offerings) before it, he made the prayers :—"If I go to Tibet, would I be of great service to the religion of BUDDHA, whether thereby the wishes of the saintly king of Tibet would be fulfilled, and last of all if there would be any risks to my person and life?" His tutelary gods directed him in a dream to go to the great Tírthika city called Mukhena in the neighbourhood of Vikrama Śilá, at the centre of which there stood on a hillock a small Buddhist temple. He was told that there he would meet with a female ascetic who could tell him all that he wished to know. Then in the following morning Atísa carrying a handful of *cowries* went there. While he was seated in a prayerful mood with the offerings placed on a *maṇḍala*, before the image of Tárá, there suddenly appeared, from what quarter none could tell, a *Yoginee* (female ascetic) with locks flowing to her feet and reaching the ground. To her Atísa presenting the *cowries* asked :—"If I go to Tibet in compliance with the invitation of the king, would I be of service to the living beings of Tibet?" To this she replied:—"Yes, if you go to Tibet you will be of great service to them and particularly to an Upásaka* (lay devotee) and through him to the whole country, but your life would be shortened thereby."

How much shortened? By twenty years she replied. If you do not go to Tibet, you will live 92 years. In Tibet you would live only up to the 72nd year.

Atísa thought within himself :—"If I be of service to Tibet, even if my life be shortened by going there I should not mind it." It occurred to him that the consideration of longevity should be subordinate to that of the good of the world and that his love for other beings should prevail over his self-love. Again he thought it would be still necessary to perform religious service at Vajrásana† for the purpose of gaining further prayers. When he was about to start for Vajrásana, Achárya Jñána Śrí said to him:—"Your inquiry is auspicious and of the highest significance. Among the priests of Vajrásana there is an old *Yoginee*, a female ascetic of the goddess Vajra Tárá who has brown clotted hair. Offering her these *cowries*, ask her for a reply to these queries." Accordingly Atísa took the handful of *cowries*. With six attendants accompanied by Nag-tcho's party of five he proceeded to Vajrásana. On the way he met with a woman of extra- [62] ordinary sanctity approaching that of the gods. To her Atísa inwardly (at heart) made a salutation and asked her if his going to Tibet would benefit all living beings. "Do you by all means go to Tibet, unmindful of the consequences that may happen to your body or life? It will be of immense good to numberless living beings" she said in reply. That holy nun, according to Atísa, was no other than Arya Tárá herself in human shape. Arriving at Vajrásana they visited the temple of Vajra Tárá when an old nun wearing locks of brown clotted hair said to him:—Give me the *cowries* sent by Jñána Śrí. To her also Atísa out of veneration made salutation though not to external appearance. Being asked the same question she added that, he would be of great service to all living beings in Tibet, particularly through the instrumentality of a lay devotee (*Upásaka*) who by shaking off or extirpating all spiritual gloom would in a future birth attain perfection by practice in the mystical branch of Buddhism called Mahá mudrá. She too, according to Atísa, was a *Yoginee* (female adept) in her very nature. Having made offerings and prayers at Vajrásana, Atísa returned to Vikrama Śilá and calling the two Lochávas (Tibetan scholars) to his presence said:—The spiritual teachers and the tutelary deities declare that my visit to your country will conduce to the welfare of all Tibet. As you have been pressing me, I have, with a view to go to Tibet, decided not to take up any new work, but will finish all that is in hand. I shall have to finish them before making over the charge of the monasteries. All these will require at least eighteen months to complete. Till then, Oh Ayusmats, would you wait? The Lochávas replied:—"Not to speak of eighteen months, if required we could wait three years should your holiness only consent to go to Tibet." If so, continued Atísa, keep this matter secret, do not talk of my intended visit to Tibet. Looking to Nag-tcho he said, you had better continue to study Buddhist authors under Sthavira Ratnákara. Now having got a scholar like Atísa as his teacher and an interpreter like Gya-tson, Nag-tcho decided to remain in India for a longer period so that he might acquire greater proficiency in the sacred books.

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* According to our author this was the first conception of the foundation of the grand hierarchy of Tibet which is now presided over by the Dalai Lama.

† Maḥábodhi temple at Buddha Gayá. [62]

At this time the venerable Naropanta came on a visit to the Vihára of Vikrama Śilá. All the ordained monks of the monastery gave him a warm reception. In getting down from the *dooly*, he leaned on the right arm of Atísa while Jñána Śrímitra helped him with his left arm. In course of conversation Naro said:—Prabhu Dípankara, now you should be the minister of the religion of Buddha. So saying he made over to him the ministry of the Dharma. Atísa meekly replied:—In the presence of your venerable self who may be likened to the sun and moon I am but a fire-fly. How can I illumine the world? The venerable Naro replied:—"As I shall not live long you must necessarily be the minister of the religion of Buddha". During the twenty days he [63] stayed at Vikrama Śilá, Naro did not enter into any religious discussion with Atísa. Thereafter Naro proceeded towards the South and after a few days he breathed his last. Some relics of his remains were brought to Tibet by Atísa. They are said still to exist, being preserved in the sacred *stupa* of *Hor* at Nethan.

Nag-tcho on one occasion while on a visit to the town of Antaja (in Tib. *m*thar *s*Kye*s*) saw a very old man with a large round head without hair, who, having acquired wonderful powers by the Tírthika process of regulating the breath, was in a state of suspended animation. He was told that the man was 300 years old, while some estimated his age at 400 years. Others declared that his age could not be less than 500 years. Nag-tcho inquired of Atíśa how it was that the man lived so long? "Marmots and beavers, he said, also were known to live to a great age in that manner. The process of prolonging life by suspended animation was meaningless." Again on one occasion when the Locháva (Nag-tcho) was going to make reverence to Atíśa, he saw an old Bráhman come to the river with the dead body of a Rája's son about ten years old. As soon as he washed it in the water the corpse rose up and pushing the old man in the river ran away. Nag-tcho inquired of Atíśa what this spectacle meant, what kind of charms had effected it? On another occasion a pupil of Atísa begged for leave to work occult phenomena. Being required to say if the proper time for doing so had arrived, he said: "Do not disbelieve me sir". He then put off his sacerdotal clothes and the monkish alms-bowl and immediately transformed himself into a large wolf. Then running to the cemetery he brought a corpse and feasted on it—Shortly after that he transformed himself into his original form—a monk. Atíśa now being convinced of his powers said: "You may practice it as you like."

The Pandits of Vikrama Śilá were teaching a certain Buddhist work which in Tibet was very little appreciated. There was a very good commentary upon it called Sudhá Vindu (drops of nectar). Nag-tcho translated it into Tibetan.

One of Atíśa's tutors named Krishna Duhara who had been miraculously visited by the Tantrik deity (Bhagaván Ananda Vajra) wrote a book called "Bhûmi-vichára Darpana". This he presented to Atíśa saying: "You will go to Tibet where you will be in possession of a place for residence with its north protected and south open, filled with groves and orchards. You will not come back to India. There you will have many pupils who will found monasteries and other religious institutions. At that time you will require this book, your pupils, grand pupils and also great grand pupils for three generations will become excellent Lamas. After that their successors would sink into insignificance and become degenerated". In this wise he prophesied Atíśa's future. [64]

The first place of residence as predicted by him was understood to be Nethang. The later seat was evidently Ra-deng.

One day Nag-tcho accompanied by the Locháva (Gya-tson) with the object of sounding Sthavira Ratnákara's views about Atíśa's going to Tibet, went to his place, and having made salutation and placing half an ounce of gold before him offered his prayers as directed by the Locháva. The Sthavira replied: "Ayusmat, in the absence of Atísa, no other Pandit would be able to preserve the moral discipline of the monks here. India is the fountain head of the religion of BUDDHA. If she were deprived of the services of Atíśa the happiness and prosperity of all living beings of the country would be greatly affected. He holds the keys of many a monastery of Magadha. For these reasons we can ill afford to lose his venerable presence. I too feel for the people of Tibet, specially the old king, who after losing good deal of treasure and a number of his people was at the end thrown into a prison, and died a lamentable death. If you study with assiduity and zeal you will become a master of the sacred literature fit to do immense good to your country."

One day Nag-tcho and the Locháva went together to Atísa's place with a view to make an earnest prayer to him for a definite expression of his wishes about going to Tibet. Atíśa said:—"You Lochávas are a very earnest people. Gya-tson has related to me personally everything about his country. From his graphic but pathetic account my heart shivers to think of the sufferings of the King of Tibet, and I deplore his lamentable death. I also pity the sinful Rájá of Garlog. There is no other place for him to go except hell. Though the saintly King of Tibet has this time (in this life) suffered very much, his self must now be resting in Tushita Heaven. Lha-tsun Chan Chûb *Hod* is also a pious prince. I always think of him." While these were being enumerated tears gushed out of Nag-tcho's eyes. Atísa continued :—"Bearing in mind that the King of Tibet and his people have been so devoted to me, I shall not allow their efforts on my account to go in vain." After three days, preparations were made to entertain Atísa reverentially at the residence of Gya-tson. On this occasion further prayers were made, and Atíśa allowed his things to be carried to the Mitra Vihára. In the meantime he gave charge of the various offices to the monastic authorities. Everything was now placed in readiness for him to set out for Tibet. But still being afraid of incurring Ratnákara's displeasure they were careful not to make any noise in equipping themselves and in packing up their travelling appurtenances. Nag-tcho busied himself in packing sixty loads which were placed on thirty horses. These were despatched in charge of a man and his son who wore conical caps tapering at the crown. To avoid suspicion and confusion, the caravan set out at midnight and crossed the Ganges.

Atíśa having completed his unfinished works now prepared himself [65] to proceed to Tibet. With a view that others may not know of his intention of leaving India, he made up his mind to make pilgrimage to the eight sacred places of Buddhist sanctity. One morning he went to the residence of Sthavira Ratnákara and addressed him : "Most venerable sir, it is necessary to show all the great places of pilgrimage to these Ayusmats of Tibet. Religious service and offerings should also be made at such places on their account. I trust from this time till my return you would enjoy good health and permit religious works and services to be conducted as usual. The Sthavira said :—"That is very good, if you go I shall accompany you to those places, and after visiting every one of them we shall come back together." A young monk of Vikrama Śilá having perceived the plans of Nag-tcho about Atíśa's mission, said :—"This master (Atíśa) is like an eye, unto us—the Indians. In his absence we should indeed be blind. If I communicated your plans to the king, there would be danger to your life, but I must not tell him anything about it. Proceed with our master to your country and take care that he does not meet with accidents and suffer privations on the way. When the object for which you have come is fulfilled bring him back to our midst."

Atíśa secretly said to Nag-tcho :—"Now that we are about to start for Tibet, we should first go to Vajrásana. Gya-tson Sengé must go with us. So send for him." At this time Gya-tson was laid up with fever at Śrí Nálanda, in consequence of which he had to be carried in a *dooly* to Vikrama Śilá. Having finished religious service at Vajrásana and other places Atíśa returned to Vikrama Śilá. His companions about sixty including Sthavira Ratnákara also returned with him. Atíśa then expressed to him his intention of going on a pilgrimage to the *Chaitya* of Svayambhu in Nepal. He also added that at the first instance he would go to Mitra Vihára, and thence to Nepal. As the place was a long way from Vikrama Śilá he did not want to take many people with him.

The Sthavira now clearly perceived that by going there Atíśa meant to proceed to Tibet. Then pointing to Nag-tcho he said: "That Ayusmat has not really come here for the sake of study. The king of Tibet has sent him to steal away my man. On a former occasion he sent an invitation to him but I did not let Atíśa go. This time I can resort to means to prevent his going there, but Atísa out of his own good-will and purity of heart, likes to secretly visit Tibet. Besides if I do not let him go, it would be putting obstruction in his way in doing good to others." Then addressing Nag-tcho he continued :—"Ayusmat, as you have been a pupil of mine, to displease you would be to shake your confidence in my kindness. Out of compassion for you and your countrymen, many of whom have died for taking Atíśa to Tibet, I lend his services to your country for three years, and after that you must bring him back here. Ayusmat, you should also accompany him back so far as this side of Nepal, other-[66] wise it would be a breach of promise." Nag-tcho agreed to the proposal. Atíśa now asked the Locháva to bring the gold which he had returned to him sometime back. He divided it into four parts, the first part he presented to the spiritual teachers, and Acháryas (professors) of Vikrama Śilá; the second part he entrusted to Sthavira Ratnákara for the use of the clergy of the grand monastery; the third part he sent to Vajrásana for conducting religious service there; the fourth part he sent to the king for distribution among the general Buddhist (*Sangha*) priestly community of the country.* Atíśa as the High Priest of the monastery now made over charge of all that was with him to Sthavira Ratnákara.

From the time that Nag-tcho had arrived at Vikrama Śilá till his departure, full three years had elapsed. During this long period Nag-tcho applied himself with assiduity in studying the sacred books and reading Sanskrit Buddhist literature. He had translated the following works:—*D*pal *g*śin, *r*je*h*i *g*śe*d* kyi *r*gyu*d* chun, Buddha Bhûmi, a commentary on Prajñá Sára by Bráhmana Jetári (an Achárya). Bhaishajya Vichára, Chikitsá Sārá, and Amrita Karaṇḍa Vikása. These two he translated into Tibetan with Atíśa's help.

In the morning before starting for Tibet Nag-tcho went to take leave of his tutor, the abbot. Making obeisance at the feet of Sthavira Ratnákara, he said :—"Oh sage, continue to show me your affections! During my absence may you be in good health." So saying he asked for his blessings. And the venerable Sthavira, replied :—"Act as I ordered you yesterday. Bring my Pandit back after three years, in the meanwhile fully acquire the necessary wisdom from him. May you both pupil and teacher return to Vikrama Śilá in sound health. Let no accident or illness overtake you during your residence there! You would then on your return be able to complete the remainder of your education under me." Nag-tcho now obtained the opportunity of making the following prayer :—"Oh venerable sage, permit me to act as the Pandit may command me, for it would not be proper on my part to act against his will." The Sthavira, replied :—"Ayusmat, that is very fair. Ask the help of BUDDHA and the Bodhisattvas. How should you ask the Pandit to return? If he expresses his pleasure to return here, do you accompany him. If he wishes to remain in Tibet serve him there. If he does not express himself at all on the subject of returning, you must accompany him back to the frontier of Nepal. Oh Ayusmat, without Atíśa India will be in darkness. He holds the keys of many institutions. In his absence many monasteries will be [67] empty. The looming signs prognosticate evil for India. Numerous Turuskas (Mussalmans) are invading India, and I am much concerned at heart. May you proceed to your country with your companions and with Atiśa to work for the good of all living beings there."

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* According to *Dge-g*śes Sarawa, the entire gold was spent for conducting religious service at Vajrásana repairing the grand temple and its pillars and also for the use of the monasteries of Odantapuri and Vikrama Śilá. [67]

Atíśa accompanied by Pandit Bûmi Garbha, Nag-tcho, Gya-tson, Bhûmi Sangha, Vírya Chandra and a large retinue set out for Mitra Vihára. The monks of that monastery received him with veneration and demonstration of joy. Gya-tson with two servants, Nag-tcho with six and Atíśa with twenty attendants set out from here for Tibet. Near the frontier, within the Indian territory, there was a small *Vihára*. When Atíśa and his party reached the place the priestly community (*Sangha*) of the monastery gave him a very warm reception. They talked among themselves:—"If Atíśa went to Tibet, the sun of Buddhism would set in India—an attempt should therefore be made to stop his journey to Tibet." Some of the priests remarked :—"As the *Sangha* of Vikrama Śilá has failed to prevent his leaving India, it would be idle to think of taking such a step." They and the people at large looked upon his departure as the sign of the downfall of Buddhism in India.*

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* Atiśa said to his companions and followers:—"A Buddhist high official residing in the frontier town called Chindila Krama had asked me to consecrate the site of a temple which he intended to erect. For the last one or two years I have not been able to attend to his request. Now I must go there." Accordingly he went to Chindila. Having consecrated the site he said to his followers:—"Now that I shall go to conduct a religious service at Svayambhu (in Nepal) you may return to Vikrama."

Note—Whether Atiśa parted company with his followers at Mitra Vihâra or elsewhere is not clear from the text. [68]

Then Atíśa and his companions crossed the Indian frontier and arrived at a place sacred to the Tírthikas. There were fifteen *Achāryas* (teachers) of their creed. They too received him very kindly and interrogated him respecting their own religion for a whole day. Atíśa being very well acquainted with the religion of the Tírthikas, explained their doctrines so lucidly that the fifteen teachers presented him each with an umbrella as a mark of their appreciation of his kindness and learning. They behaved themselves obediently as if they were his attendants. Atíśa while talking to his companions, said:—"I must please the Tírthikas." Then leaving that place they proceeded on their journey. Of the Tírthikas, among whom were the Śaivas, Vaishṇavas and Kápilas, the sons of Śiva were very jealous of the Buddhists. They did not like the idea of a Buddhist propaganda in Tibet. It is said that attempts were made by them to assassinate Atíśa, by sending after him eighteen robbers. As soon at they saw his venerable face, the robbers were struck dumb, and stood motionless as so many statues. Having advanced a [68] short distance, Atíśa, said :—"I pity the robbers." So saying he uttered some charms drawing figures on sand which had the efficacy of restoring the stupified to their senses.

Again on the confines of India and Nepal when proceeding on their journey to Tibet, Atíśa arrived at a deserted camping ground of a herdsman. There he saw three puppies left uncared for, and he took them in the folds of his robes saying "Ah poor little ones, I pity you," and went on his journey. The breed of these puppies, says the historian, is still to be seen at Raḍeng. Then proceeding northward he entered the country of Nepal, and he halted there for the night. The Rájá (landholder) of this place behaved very rudely using harsh language and shewing bad manners towards the travellers. Atíśa had a pretty little table made of sandal-wood with him which the Rájá impudently demanded. Atíśa said he would carry it to Tibet to make a present of it and so he would not part with it. The Rájá, it is said, out of malice caused some robbers to wait on the road side with a view to way-lay him in the following morning. Just after the Rájá had left the place, Atíśa remarked: "The hillmen will come to rob us in the morning." In the morning when they met with the robbers on the way, Atíśa uttered some charms, drawing some mystic figures on the ground and walked ahead of all. The rest of the party who followed him saw the robbers sitting on their right and left with bamboo bows. So when they passed, walking in silent paces, the robbers were thrown into a glamour, though their eyes were still open like those of a statue. On reaching the top of the pass Atíśa uttered some *mantras* and taking some sand in his hand sprinkled towards them, on which they got up and went their way.* The goddess Tárá is believed to possess the secret of detecting and catching robbers by certain charms. Then the party reached the sacred place of Arya Svayambhu. The beasts of burden were now unloaded and all the packages were deposited at the place of their encampment, and a temporary wall was raised round the baggage. The sight of the sacred temple of Arya Svayambhu is said to have given delight to Atíśa, who constantly gazed at it. The sight of these new sacred sites of Nepal pleased him very much. Atíśa sat under a lofty shady tree, Gya-tson sitting on his right and his brother Vírya Chandra on the left side. At the centre on a high seat sat Mahárájá Bhûmi Sangha, the royal monk, the principal disciple of Atíśa. The Rájá of Svayambhu made grand preparations for the reception of Atíśa and collected a [69] large quantity of provisions and other necessaries for the use of his followers. He sent his officers to escort the sage from a place called Krishong-bro, which was a long way off from his palace. He accommodated him in the principal part of the palace and did him honour and reverence befitting his position of the chief of the High Priests of Magadha. He remained all the while sitting near Atíśa. In the evening of the third day of the entertainment a religious service on a grand scale was conducted by Atíśa for furthering the prosperity of the Rájá and his people. At this time Gya-tson had a relapse of fever. At the time of proceeding to Palpa his illness took a serious turn, when Atíśa said:—"Gya-tson, what did you do?" To which he replied:—"Venerable sir, I did nothing except learn a charm from a Tírthika Tantrik. I promised him some reward which I have already paid him. A small quantity of gold he has returned to me. I gave him a small bag of gold dust which he did not accept. He asked me to send him the gold after melting it. It seems that I did not give it back to him.* Since then I have been slightly sailing." Atíśa said:—"It was not good for a Buddhist priest to have learnt a Tantrik charm from a heretic; and yet you did not let me know of it!" Gya-tson asked if there was any remedy by which he could be cured; Atíśa said there was, but it was too late. He gave him some charms. They had no efficacy on him. It was now too late, again he said, and nothing could save him. Gya-tson lay in his death-bed. On this side of Palpa, according to the custom of the country when a stranger dies in the house of the host, the latter gets his property. Gya-tson was carried to the river-side where the party halted for the night. Gya-tson-breathed his last that night in consequence of which his property was saved. Some of his books were left in the host's place which he himself had left in the host's charge. Along with them the commentary of the work called the "Principal Sins," which was translated by Atíśa and Gya-tson happened to be left. It was afterwards recovered and esteemed as one of the best translations among the translated sacred works. The death of so good and accomplished a Locháva (interpreter) like Gya-tson made Atíśa very much distressed at heart. He said:—"My going to Tibet it [70] appears will not be of much value. Now that my tongue has dropped off (meaning thereby the loss of Gya-tson), I shall not be of service to the Tibetans. It is a pity that amongst the moral merits of the people of Tibet, there was not one by which Gya-tson could be saved from an untimely death. At this Nag-tcho tried to console him, saying:—"Venerable Lama (Guru), do not be uneasy for it. There are Lochávas, who are great Sanskrit scholars, such as Rinchen Zang-po Lochûng Leg*s*-pa*h*i Śes-rab and Yeśé Khu Locháva and many others. Besides, I also know a little of (Locháva) interpreting. Venerable Guru, do not therefore be afflicted." Atíśa, said :—"It behoves not a pupil or one in an inferior position to approach his professor or superior for consoling him in his sorrows. In our country (India) the *Yogees* do the work of consoling the Pandits in their grief. It is the duty of the Pandits to render all assistance in the matter of explaining the DHARMA to the *Yogee*. But, however, as you are the best among all the Locháva, I shall also be able to learn to speak Tibetan from you." At this time Atíśa wrote an epistle to king Naya Pála which with his assistance the Locháva translated into Tibetan. Then the party proceeded to a place called *Holkha* of Palpa to avail themselves of the hospitality of a friend of Atíśa a Buddhist sage, who owing to his deafness was called the deaf Sthavira. Here Atíśa spent one month. The deaf Sthavira heard from Atíśa a complete discourse of the *Páramitas*, which are different from the *Mantra* portion of the sacred books, for full six days. The Sthavira having had no faith in the *Mantras*, Atíśa explained to him that the way to the attainment of Bodhihood lay both in the *Mantras* and the *Páramitas*. Accordingly he wrote the work called Charyá Sangraha Pradípa. The Locháva translated it into Tibetan with Atíśa's assistance.

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* According to Bromton:—Meeting a few merchants who were proceeding towards India he said, "At a short distance from here you will find some eighteen naked *Yogees* standing still as if stricken to death. Do not be frightened by their appearance. As soon as you sprinkle this charmed sand on them they will rise up. The merchants did accordingly and brought the stupified *Yogees* to their senses. [69]

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* According to Bromton, Gya-tson said:—"I learnt a mystic charm called the Nava Sandhi or the nine-conjunctions from a certain black Tirthika named Ráhu. In return for it I promised to remunerate him with one ounce of gold. I offered him gold dust of that weight, but he thinking it was less by a small measure wished me to bring the gold after melting it, which I did not do." All means to cure him having failed Gya-tson died at midnight. They disposed of his dead body secretly by taking it to the river-side. In the morning his clothes and beddings were carried in a *dooly* to show as if he was still alive and medicines were being administered to the sick man. This was done with a view to avoid the Government investigation about the cause of his death which would in consequence cause unnecessary delay and trouble. [70]

They then reached the plain of Palpa called *Palpoi than*. At this time the king named Ananta Kírti who ruled over Nepal held his court there. He received Atíśa with much cordiality and reverence. Atíśa presented him with the elephant called *Drishta-oushadhi* with certain instructions about its use. He said, "O king, you should not use this elephant to carry arms or to fight in a battle, nor should any one mounted on his back be permitted to fight. He should be utilized in carrying sacred objects, scriptures, symbols and images. In return for this valuable animal you should build a monastery here to be called Than-vihára." Accordingly king Ananta Kírti caused a *vihára* (monastery) to be erected and permitted his son prince Padmaprabha to be ordained as a monk-pupil of Atíśa. Padma was therefore the first monk who was ordained by Atíśa since he left India for Tibet. When the building of the monastery of Than-vihára was commenced Atíśa resumed his journey towards Tibet, placing the prince in charge of the Locháva who was appointed to give him lessons in Tibetan and Sanskrit. The prince afterwards became an adept in Buddhism. [71] When the party entered Tibet they found one hundred horsemen all decorated with white ornamental equipments sent by the royal monk Chan-Chûb for escorting Atíśa. They were under the command of four generals, namely:—"Lhai Wang-po, Lhai Lo-doi, Lhai Śerab and Lhai Sri-zin, each of whom had sixteen lancers bearing white flags. The rest of the escort carried small *Patáká* (flags) and twenty white satin umbrellas. The band consisted of musical reeds bag-pipes, guitar and other musical instruments. With a sonorous but grave music, and uttering the sacred *Mantra* "Om maṇi padmé hum" they approached the holy sage of Magadha to offer him a respectful welcome in the name of the king of Tibet.

Atíśa's party and the Tibetans for the first time met on the Tibetan soil, and the king's representative named Nari-tcho Sumpa with his five companions presented Atíśa with about five ounces of gold, one tray full of treacle and tea prepared in Tibetan manner poured in a cup decorated with the figures of the Chinese dragon. In offering the tea he said:—"Venerable sage, permit me to make an offering of this celestial drink which contains the essence of the wishing tree." Atíśa who was seated on a thick stuffed cushion at the top of the row in an exalted position, said:—"The concatenation of circumstances is very auspicious. This curious cup of precious substance contains an elixir of the wishing tree. What is the name of this drink which you prize so much?" The Locháva said :—"Venerable sir, it is called *cha* (tea). The monks of Tibet also drink it. We do not know that the *cha* (tea) plant is eaten, but the leaves are churned (being mixed with soda, salt and butter) in warm water and the soup is drunk. It has many properties." Atíśa observed: "So excellent a beverage as tea must have originated from the moral merits of the monks of Tibet!" During night a religious service was conducted. Then the party proceeded to Mon-yul Gûn-thang. When arrived at a place called *Zo-gna Chen-po* Atíśa was received at the residence of Nag-tcho where he spent one month. Then travelling on from Purang the party came to a place called Dok Mamolin near the shore of lake Ma-pham (Manasarovara). Here many herdsmen came with rich presents to make obeisance to him. After finishing breakfast the party came to the edge of the lake. This place appeared so very holy and delightful, that Atíśa halted there for seven days. In the meantime Nag-tcho returned from his place and joined him. When Atíśa was offering oblations (*tarpaṇa*) to the manes of the dead (*Pretas*) standing in the water, Nag-tcho inquired what he was doing. Atíśa said that he was offering water to the *Pretas*. Nag-tcho begged to be favoured with an *upadeśa* about the same. Atíśa taught him a *śástra* about the worship of (Vishṇu) Khasharpaṇa, and inquired :—"Have not you Tibetans the ceremony of offering water to the *Pretas*?" Nag-tcho replied:—"Yes, there are some *mantras* [72] about Manju Śrí deví and others. Oh, they all belong to the Kriyá Tantras."* When Atíśa was offering oblations to the gods standing in the water of the lake by making a figure of the god *Khasharpaṇa*, the following phenomenon is said to have occurred. From the centre of his head a stream of water issued forth and fell back on the water of the lake. A number of *preta* (departed souls) now in the spirit world drank it and obtained relief from their sufferings. The report of Atíśa's arrival at the bank of Lake Mapham now spread all over the three provinces of Nah-ri Korsum.

The Tibetan escort, consisting of 300 horsemen, under four Generals, marched along keeping Atíśa's party who were all dressed in white, in the middle. At this time, the Generals sang the song of welcome like those wise ministers of King Thi-Sron Deu-tsan, who three centuries ago had escorted Achárya Śánta Rakshita from the confines of India to Tibet. The senior General addressed Atíśa in the following terms:—Oh, thou the most accomplished and gifted Pandit, who hast come here from India, like the image of a god responding to the prayer of all Tibet,—great is thy mercy to us. Thou art like the *Chintamani*—the wishing gem—able to give what is asked of thee. Though, in this country, there is wanting the religious prosperity, which India possesses—yet there are many advantages, which would be vainly sought for in India. Here in the country of Purgyal (Tibet), there is no scorching heat, and everywhere there are sparkling fountains and pellucid streams. In winter, the climate of Tibet is not rigorous. In the sheltered sides of the mountains of Tibet, there is generally warmth, which makes this country delightful in winter. In the spring season here, people hardly suffer from any scarcity of food, and the five kinds of grain are cultivated for a harvest of plenty. In autumn, the country becomes a mass of emerald by the abundance of vegetation in the fields as well as in the hills and dales. In every way, oh great Pandit, our country is happy, and it will be more so by your holy advent. Though Lha-chen (the old king) has gone to the land of rest like the moon in her 29th lunation,

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*Atiśa said: "Have you not the ceremony of *Tarpaṇa* in Tibet? In that, one must clean himself by ablutions. That is not practicable in Tibet. I shall teach you an easier method of *tarpaṇa*." This he performed at a place called Khamagramadon. This *tarpaṇa* is known in Tibet by the name of Dipam-ma after Atiśa's name. [73]

yet Lha-tsun-pa the present king has risen like the luminous disc of the day in the cloudless firmament of Tibet. By the moral merits of his subjects, the king's power and prosperity have been increasing every day. By the accumulated merits of the king and his peoples, the disputes and disturbance of all sides have disappeared. At the present time, the great Pandit having come here, the merits of the king as well as those of his subjects should be accumulated to a large extent. We (Tibetans) shall not grow old, but shall enjoy longevity in religion like the unchangeable Vajra. We shall not [73] descend downwards, but being firm like the Sumeru in our loyalty to the Bodhisattva shall approach Lha-tsun, whose fortitude is great. We should make an offering of every thing that we possess from beneath the heels to the heaven of Brahmá to thee. Oh Lord! we shall faithfully carry out any order that you may be pleased to express to us. On the present occasion, the object of our prayer to thee, oh Lama (Guru), is that it may please your holiness to proceed to Tholin the monastery of His Majesty the King. Lha-tsun-pa Chan Chûb *Hod* is rich and powerful like Indra, the king of the gods, and reigns gloriously, being honoured by his ministers, who resemble the junior Indra. So saying he sang the song:—"Lo-a lo ma lo la lo la, &c." In this manner singing welcome and joy, he marched towards Tholin at the head of three hundred horsemen. On another occasion in this journey he remarked:—"At the present age, Atíśa is the Vice-regent of BUDDHA and master of Buddhism. He has become the object of universal admiration. His purity has entitled him to the adoration of all living beings including the gods."

Atíśa surrounded by his companions—such as Rájá Bhûmi Sangha, Pandit Para hita Bhadra, Pandit Vírya Chandra, Locháva Gunthang and other monks, altogether 35 in number, rode towards Tholin. The horse, on which the great sage rode, ambled gently like the walking of the golden swan. At times, Atíśa lifted himself in the air a cubit above the saddle not touching it at all with a view to be distinguished from others. His demeanour, personal beauty though sixty years old, and his pleasant appearance made him worthy of divine honour. A smile was ever present on his face, and Sanskrit *mantras* were always on his lips. His voice was distinct, loud and impressive. His expressions were happy, oh, how sweetly he talked, and how noble he looked! At the end of a sentence, he often said Ati Bhála! Ati Bhála, Ati mangal, Ati Bhála haé. The names Arya Tára, Arya Achalá, Mahá Karunika, Śákya Muni dekha, &c. were always present on his lips.

Looking to the men sent by Lha-tsun-pa to escort him he said:—"These officers of Lha-tsun-pa have in their mirth surpassed the mirth and joy of Pramoda, the king of the Gandharvas. They seem to resemble the Yakha or the wrathful Rakshasa."

"It is, indeed, true that Himavat is the province of Avalokiteśvara's religious discipline. For who but he could have subdued so wild and fearful a people as the Tibetans! But even in their wildness so cheerful and agreeable they look: They always utter the words of religion. Lha-tsun-pa, the king of these officers, must indeed be like Indra the king of the gods." Then when nearing Tholin Lhai Wan Chug, the great minister of the king of Tibet with the palms of his hands, joined together thus addressed Atíśa :—"We welcome you, oh Prabhu, master of the devotional mood of our religion! You have come thus far out of your compas- [74] sion to all living beings. You have come to timely impart your precepts to us, unmindful of the fatigues of the journey." So saying he presented him with a tapestry painting of Avalokiteśvara, which had 40 arms worked up on cloth. Atíśa immediately consecrated it. Then all the ministers reverentially presented him each with a white scarf.

When the news of the arrival of the great Pandit reached the king, the people of Nah-ri began to comment in various ways regarding him. The Indian Pandit became the subject of conversation everywhere, for all classes of men wished to know from travellers, lately returned from lake Mapham (Mansarovara) what kind of man Dípankara was for whom so much wealth and so many people were sacrificed. The king too was very eager to hear of the great sage from the lips of his own officers, who had seen him. At this time, the great minister Lhai lodoi with ten mounted attendants arrived at the monastery of Tholin, and going to the presence of the king thus related to him about Atíśa. "As soon as the all-knowing sage reached the Court of Palpa (Nepal), the king with his nobles riding on horses, elephants, and driving carriages with singers, dancers, poets, with princes and princesses, with the music of drums, cymbals, bag-pipes, shell trumpets and guitars in a full chorus came to receive His Holiness. The extent of reception accorded to Atíśa, its pomp and earnestness surely exceeded that which was ever given to the most perfect Buddha in former times.

"Moreover the king of Nepal caused his son to be ordained as a monk by Atíśa under the name of Devendra. He also sent 100 horsemen with Atíśa and the Prince to escort them up to the shores of the lake Mapham. Atíśa presented his own elephant to the king of Nepal with a request that he should build a Vihára, called Than Vihára, in return for the value of the beautiful elephant. The king of Nepal placed at Atíśa's disposal both his wealth and son. Now the great Pandit has arrived at the bank of lake Mapham, where they have halted. The Pandit's companions are the following:—Three Pandits, whose fame of learning has covered the vaults of heaven, Locháva, Gunthang (Nag-tcho) with about 30 pupils who learn the *dulva* (vinaya). The Mahárájá Bhûmi Sangha, king of the whole of Western India, who is majestic and bright in learning, who is mighty to be able to overpower the world. He has cast away the world and its pleasures just as one throws out his spittle from the mouth, and out of his love and devotion for Atíśa has been following him to Tibet. To him the king of kings also bow down his head. For the sake of the exalted dignity of this royal personage, the king of Nepal sent a large escort (about 425) up to the lake Mapham. Thousands of herdsmen have assembled round him to offer him their enthusiastic greetings.

"Then the party arrived at Tholin called Lin Sergyi Lhakhán. Here an escort of three hundred horsemen under four Generals [75] waited upon Atíśa to take him to the palace of the king of Tibet. Among the musical instruments that were sounded on this occasion in honour of the arrival of the great sage, the most curious was the long brass trumpet, called Ragdun. It was invented by Lha-tsun-pa himself to welcome the Pandit, and was therefore known by the name of Lopan Chen Denpai dun, the trumpet for inviting the Lopan, *i.e.*, Locháva, and Pandit."

Thus the king of Tibet gave Atíśa a most cordial reception. He commanded his people to receive his teachings with profound veneration. Finding that Dípankara was the best and wisest of the Indian Pandits whom he and his father had ever asked to visit Tibet, the king out of reverence for his deep learning and purity of morals gave him the name of Jovo Je (the supreme Lord in Sansk. Prabhu Svámi). Arrived at Tholin Dípankara preached the profound doctrine of the Maháyána doctrine and wrote several works on the principles and cult of the general and esoteric branches of Buddhism, among which Bodhipatha Pradípa is pre-eminent. In short he revived the practice of the pure Maháyána doctrine by showing the right way to the ignorant and misguided Lamas of Tibet who had all become Tantriks. He cleared the Buddhism of Tibet of its foreign and heretic elements which had completely tarnished it and restored to it its former purity and splendour. Under his guidance the Lamas of Tibet discovered what is called the "real and sure path of the exalted excellence." After a residence of thirteen years which was distributed over the different provinces of Tibet during which he assiduously devoted himself to the propagation of pure Buddhism, enjoying uninterruptedly the good-will and veneration of the people, Atíśa died at Nethan near Lhasa at the age of seventy-three in the year 1053 A.D. He is remembered with deep veneration all over higher Asia or wherever the Buddhism of Tibet prevails. He was the spiritual guide and teacher of Bromton, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet.

Dípankara wrote several works and delivered upwards of one hundred discourses on the Maháyána Buddhism. The following names of his works occur in *m*do of *Bs*tan *h*gyur:—

1, Bodhipatha pradípa; 2, Charyá sangraha pradípa; 3, Satya dvayávatára; 4, Madhyamopadeśa; 5, Sangraha garbha; 6, Hridaya niśchita; 7, Bodhisattva maṇyávali; 8, Bodhisattva karmádimargávatára; 9, Saranagatádeśa; 10, Maháyánapatha sádhana varṇa sangraha; 11, Maháyánapatha sádhana sangraha; 12, Sûtrártha samuchhayopadeśa; 13, Dasakuśala karmopadeśa; 14, Karma Vibhanga; 15, Samádhi sambhara parivarta; 16, Lokottarasaptaka vidhi; 17, Guru Kriyákrama; 18, Chittotpáda samvara vidhi krama; 19, Śikshá samuchhaya abhi samaya.

This was delivered by Śrí Dharmapála, king of Suvarṇadvipa to Dípankara and Kamala; 20, Vimala ratna lekhana.

This last is an epistle addressed by Dípankara to Naya Pála, king of Magadha. [76]

Lecture IV

THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSMIGRATION

The doctrine of the Transmigration of the *sattva*, so familiar to the Indian, and so foreign to the Western mind, is based on the principle of *Ekotíbháva*. This word is derived from the roots

Eka = one, *uta* = sewn, and *bháva*=state or existence. In the exact interpretation of it, in short, may be traced the missing link of Buddhist Ontology, the solution of which has been a constant puzzle to students of Buddhism in the West. According to Buddhism the realization of the true signification of this mystic term is possible for such members of the initiated brotherhood as have attained to the second stage of *Dhyána* or Meditation. No wonder, therefore, that it should still remain an unsolved problem. Even Subhuti, the friend of Rhys Davids, though himself a member of the *Sangha* (Buddhist priesthood), has not explained the simple yet subtle philosophy which underlies the term *Ekotíbháva*. Had he done so, the charge against the divine founder of Buddhism, of having taught an inconsistent doctrine would have ere long been withdrawn.

2. It is an admitted fact that Buddhism is better studied in Tibet than in any other Buddhist country. It is, therefore, possible for the Lamas of Tibet to arrive at a solution of the mysterious term and the philosophy of Buddhism revealed by it. The explanation that an erudite Lama has given of the term *Ekotíbháva*, appears to possess elements of truth which may be sought in vain elsewhere. A few years ago I sent the following translation of it to Max Müller while that illustrious *savant* was sitting, as a Buddhist would say, in the second stage of *Dhyána* with the Vedas and Dhamma-pada before him: "*Ekotíbháva* "means the continued connection of one with another without "break or division. A *vijnána* (consciousness) existing from "eternity has undergone numberless transmigrations. In all its "births it has run through an unbroken line of existence until it "enters Nirvána."*

All beings have this kind of continuous existence. A *sattva* undergoing transmigration may be compared to a string or wreath of flowers, its different embodiments being the individual flowers which drop off one by one after each death. *Bodhisattvas* and *Arhats* alone can know the circumstances of their former births,—ordinary mortals cannot. Some of the Grand Lamas of Tibet are the acknowledged incarnations of *Bodhisattvas*. When [77] a fresh embodiment of a *Bodhisattva* is announced, a Committee of the living incarnate Lamas is formed to identify his spirit with that of the Lama whose incarnation he professes to be. At the time of the identification the claimant, generally a child of three years, is required to prove by signs and other tests that his spirit is one and the same with the spirit of the Lama whose incarnation he declares himself to be. This identity of the claimant, with the spirit of Lama, is called *Rgyud g*cig-tu gyur-pa or *Ekotíbháva,* and it forms one of the cardinal doctrines of Tibetan Buddhism. In this sense every being (*sattva*) is the re-embodiment of its own resultant *sattva,* of which the origin is lost in eternity.

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* In reply Max Müller wrote to my brother as follows:—"It seems to me that your interpretation is right—at all events, it is the best I know. * * * * I have always had great faith in Tibetan translations, and I expect much from that quarter for elucidation of Buddhist difficulties". [77]

From the above elucidation of the principle of *Ekotíbháva,* it is evident that Buddhism upholds the doctrine of *sattvic* immortality. For the string connecting the *sattvas* that has been compared with the wreath of flowers always remains, even in Nirváṇa which is the state of supreme purity and enlightenment. When it is attained, the *sattva* is only liberated from transmigratory existence, *i.e.*, re-birth, to live for eternity in the spiritual commonwealth of Buddhas.

While Buddhism so clearly sets forth the links between one life and another, in one and the same series of re-embodiments, we are told that there is no key-stone in the grand arch of Buddhism which was built over the river of mysteries and sorrows for entrance into the calm city of Peace, Joy and Rest—Nirváṇa.

"They have been charmed and awed perhaps by the delicate or "noble beauty of some of the several stones of which the arch is "built, they have seen that the whole rests on a more or less solid "foundation of fact; that on one side of the key-stone is the "necessity of justice, on the other the law of causality. But "they have failed to see that the very key-stone itself, the link "between one life and another is a mere word—this wonderful "hypothesis, this airy nothing, this imaginary cause, beyond the "reach of reason, the individualized and individualizing force of "*Karma.*" (Rhys. D. "*Buddhism*")

It is a well-known fact, recognized both by common sense and science, that every living being undergoes a change at every moment of its existence. The fœtus in the womb becomes a new born child, the infant grows to boyhood, and the youth to man. Every day a different kind of food adds new nourishment to the body, fresh knowledge expands the mind, and new associations change our morals to good or bad. Is it not a potent truth that what one was in his childhood, nay yesterday, he is not at this moment? But still he firmly believes that he is the same and that he continues to be the identical man. Though every drop of his blood, every particle of his flesh has been replaced by fresh arrivals, yet he believes firmly that he has undergone no change whatever. There then exists a linked connection between the particles, that replace and that are replaced, both in respect of [78] the physical and spiritual constituents of the *sattva* at every moment of its existence. In further proof of this principle it may be said, that it has been ascertained by scientists that in every seven years the human constitution undergoes a complete change. What is true of the body may also be true of the inner faculties and of the moral nature of the *sattva*.

It is to be remembered that Buddhism, while holding the nature of every atom, every phenomenon in this world, as transitory and illusive, does admit that they are permanent in their absolutely simple or primordial state.

That matter and spirit have been in this manner existing from eternity though their nature is void, and that they will exist to eternity—of this there is no denial in the doctrine of BUDDHA.

In the same manner, the *sattva*—the union of matter and spirit under certain psycho-physical laws, carries on a perpetually continued existence. Though its different embodiments and dissolutions are regulated by the moral forces called *Karma*, no cause whatever can annihilate them altogether. Here, too, is the strong link which connects one embodiment of the *sattva* with another, which is co-existent with eternity and may be compared with a circle that has neither a beginning nor an end.

In further illustration of this principle of continuity, I may cite an anecdote from the life of a certain king named Thisrong Deûtsan who reigned about Tibet 720 A.D. His eldest son, the crown prince, being very fond of swimming once went to swim in the river Tsang-po in charge of one of the ministers. As he was trying to swim in the shallow part of the river a sudden wave carried him away to an eddy. The minister recovered his body when life was extinct. When the king was about to pass sentence of death on the minister and his followers who had witnessed the accident and had failed to save his son, they all appealed to him for mercy, saying it was the river that had killed the prince, and the king, who bore the title of the Lord of Land, Water and Heaven—should, in justice punish the mighty Tsang-po. Accordingly the king commanded that they should beat the water where the prince was drowned with a whip five hundred times every day.

The king's command was obeyed, and the river daily received 500 stripes. One day the river-god, unable to bear this unjust punishment, assuming human shape, represented his grievances to the king, and begged his majesty to personally come to the spot for investigation. When the king arrived near the spot, the son of Brahmá (Brahmaputra) placed a vessel where the prince had struggled for life. The vessel was instantly carried away by a wave to a great distance. The river-god, then addressing his majesty said, "Behold! oh king! the water—the real culprit—that killed the prince has gone to the sea, and every day your majesty very unjustly punishes the innocent which passes by this spot. The king was convinced of his mistake and became penitent. [79]

The doctrine of *Ekotíbháva*, the principle of continuity in the *sattvic* existence, which is the keystone of the grand arch of Buddhism, may be likened to the flow of the river in this example. Though particle after particle of water, wave after wave pass off in rapid succession, there underlies the principle of continuity in the stream which links one particle with another and one wave with another wave, and which presents the idea of the river as a reality to the mind.

Instead of tracing the origin of transmigration to *Ekotíbháva* some of the scholars have endeavoured to base it on the phenomenon of *Karma*. Regarding this point Rhys Davids writes:—"It is probable that the idea of transmigration first originated in that curious trick of the memory by which we sometimes feel sure that sensations we are experiencing have been experienced by us before, and yet we know not how or when." This is but a partial exposition of what is called *Prág-Janmabhyasha Samskára*, *i.e.*, the impressions of the practices of one's former life.

Mrs. Annie Besant, who has recently written on the subject of re-incarnation, tells us that it is only possible in the human species, and neither in the vegetable nor in the animal can the process of re-incarnation operate. She has demonstrated this with such a force of clever arguments that there is hardly any room left for further reasoning on the scientific plane. But one who has any knowledge of Buddhism will not accept her theory as consistent with Buddhistic ideas. The impressions of one's former life or "the accumulated experiences" are regarded as potent factors in the determination of one's re-birth. For instance, if a man persistently desires to eat animal food like a tiger, and longs to have the appetite and strength of that animal, it is possible that he may be born as a tiger; but from that circumstance it should not be inferred that the nature of the tiger on this account will improve. Again the tiger, at the termination of the term, for which his metempsychosis was determined by his *Karma*, may be released by death to be embodied in some other way.

Buddhism recognizes no Ego at all. Therefore in that system "no immortal Ego starts life after life." With regard to *Sattva*, the embodiment of spirit and matter cognizable by consciousness on the physical plane, the working of the "law of heredity" exists, which Mrs. Besant explains as the tendency of parents to transmit to their offspring peculiarities of their own organization. "The oak, the dog, the man, she continues, are recognizable, under superficial divergences all the world over. All are generated and grow along definite lines; from two cells, male and female, each proceeds, developing along the lines of the parental characteristics. The offspring reproduce the specific parental marks, and however widely families of the same type may differ, we yet recognize the uniting peculiarities." Buddhism is undoubtedly one with Mrs. Annie Besant in the physical plane but in reference to the state of *sattva* [80] in the intellectual and spiritual planes it is immensely at variance with her theories.

The Buddhist *Sattva* cannot in any way be compared with either the mortal or immortal Ego. Just as a house is composed of pillars, walls, beams, roofs &c., so a *Sattva* is made up of matter and spirit with consciousness as their exponent. As a pillar, wall or roof cannot be called a house, so we cannot regard the body, the memory, consciousness and other constituents of the *Sattva* each as a *Sattva*. But although in this synthetical examination we fail to see any Ego in the *Sattva* (be it either man or god), we are not to infer from it that there is no order, or government in its constitution. Just as matter obeys physical laws, so the spirit is governed by moral laws, and the forces of principles which persistently direct the union of the spirit with matter, be it etherial, fine or gross, for the formation of the *Sattva*.

In this manner the *Sattva* inhabiting by turn the six subdivisions of the world such as Súra loka, Asûra loka, Nara loka, Tíryyak yoni, Preta yoni, and Naraka—may be transferred from one to another according to its merits and demerits.

Mrs. Annie Besant, moving again unconsciously on the theistic plane, makes distinction between the Egos of man and those of the animal world. She says:—"But physical heredity does not—for it cannot—give them the accumulated experience which enables persistent human Egos to climb onwards ever building great civilizations, gathering knowledge, rising higher and higher, so that none can trace a limit beyond which Humanity cannot grow. It is this persistent element that is lacking in the animal, and that is present in the man, that explains why the animal is stationary and the man progressive. . . . But man, storing the essence of his experience in the immortal Ego, starts life after life with this store as his possession, and so has the possibility of continued growth. For how can intellectual experience be transmitted, save by consciousness?"

Owing to the influence of Buddhism, the Tibetan mind has become fully imbued with these ideas of transmigratory existence. Every householder and every individual man or woman meditates upon the possibility of a return to this world in human shape. Consequent on this belief, which is deep rooted in the minds of the people, the priesthood has constructed elaborate works on the art of divination, and necromancy, based on astrology. The astrologer has a busy trade in Tibet, as he is consulted at the occurrence of birth, marriage, sickness, death &c.,—in all conditions of life. A father ascertains from the astrologers what the new child was before it came to the world. The sick man consults him as to what he will be after death, and accordingly directs the performance of religious ceremonies to avert the chance of his being born in any of the eight undesirable conditions of life. The bridegroom ascertains from him if his marriage with a particular maiden will be auspicious, whether they were unfriendly to each other in their former [81] lives. For instance, if the astrologer declares that he (the bridegroom) was a tiger in his former birth, and the intended bride a buck, the marriage negotiations are at once dropped, but if it is found that she had been a lioness, religious services are conducted to induce her tutelary deities to soften her temper, and the marriage is fixed upon.

The Lama, on the other hand, meditates on the transcendental virtues of a *Bodhisattva*, with a view to be born as a Buddhist saint, or at least as a human being in Tibet in order again to have a chance to enter the sacred order. He consults the astrologer and performs those religious ceremonies which are calculated to open to him chances of re-birth at least as a superior Lama if not as an incarnate saint. While in all other parts of the world the physicians pass anxious hours for the recovery of their patients and the sick men cast a wistful look back to the world and pray to be spared this time, the Tibetan Lamas, with indifference, dismiss the doctor and endeavour to become lost in meditation for the purpose being restored to a higher stage of human existence after death.

The superior Lamas and incarnate *Bodhisattvas* generally keep diaries recording the events of every-day life. They recount their doings every week, month, year and cycle of their life to find out if their existence has not been one of steady spiritual progress. They make confession of their sin, sit for meditation, and take vows to observe the sacerdotal duties with regularity. They keep the diary to be able to refresh the memory about their past doings. They argue that if one fails to enumerate his doings of yesterday or the past month, when all his faculties are in order, how would it be possible for him to keep intact the *Pûrva Janmánu-smriti* (recollection of the events of one's former existences) when the faculties are deranged by death. It is for the cultivation of this power and to have the idea of *Ekotíbháva* before the mind's eye, that the keeping of a diary is considered essential by the Lamas of superior orders in Tibet.*

THE LAMAIC HIERARCHY OF TIBET

Atíśa, who had attained to a high degree of saintly perfection and possessed *Pûrva Janmánu-smriti* (the power of remembering the incidents of former births), of himself and others, [82] followed the example of BUDDHA in the illustration of his sermons by anecdotes and parables. During his twelve years' residence in Tibet he visited almost all the important cities and holy sites of the country and preached the sacred DHARMA with extraordinary success. Not since the days of Upagupta, the spiritual Instructor of Aśoka, were the labours of any solitary Buddhist teacher and traveller crowned with such brilliant results in converting a foreign nation as those of this illustrious son of

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* The idea of transmigration pervades the whole system of Buddhist ethics like a deadly poison. For the theory of a man's destiny being determined by the stock of merits and demerits accumulated in previous forms of existence, constitutes Buddhism a system of fatalism; whilst the idea of improving one's future prospect by works of super-erogation, converts morality into a vast scheme of profit and loss. Hence the Chinese Buddhist actually keeps a debtor and creditor account with himself of the acts of each day, and at the end of the year he winds it up. If the balance is in his favour, it is carried on to the account of the next year, but if against him something extra must be done to make up the deficiency. (Eeitel's Buddhism). [82]

Bengal. At the end of every discourse he used to make observations sometimes alluding to the events of his own life in a previous existence, and at others, to those of his disciples and hearers as to their behaviour on particular occasions when moral courage and fortitude came into question. The Tibetans always listened to him with wonder and reverential attention. The purity of his life, the charm of his manners, the love that he cherished for all living beings, and his unmixed sympathy for the suffering world, earned for him the sincere veneration of the entire Tibetan people. The doctrine of transmigration on which rests the foundation of Buddhism was fully expounded by him to his disciples, who in their turn preached it to the people.

Owing to this circumstance the *Játakas*, the birth-stories of BUDDHA and the Bodhisattvas became a favourite study of the educated classes in Tibet. Old and young thronged round the Buddhist teachers to listen with eager curiosity to the narration of marvellous anecdotes from the lives of saints. They regarded the LAW and BUDDHA as the saviour of gods and men, and admired the acts that SIDDHARTHA had performed for the sake of humanity and the world at large in successive ages. Atíśa and his disciples exhorted the people to refrain from the ten impious practices, particularly from taking life and making animal sacrifices to spirits and hobgoblins after the manner of Pon fetichism. He preached that of all states of existence that of developed man was by far the most exalted, noble and enviable. Even the Gods and Asuras, though in some respects happier than man, were precluded by their own *Karma* from availing themselves of the conditions under which infinite progress may be attained. He fully impressed in their minds the important doctrine that though it was within the power of a human being to be a God by dint of moral merit, it was not given to the Gods to enter the path of purity without reverting to the ordinary condition of human life. The celestial life or residence in the heavens of Indra, Vishṇu or Brahmá, being in fact only a state of enjoyment at the cost of one's moral merit, was not to be desired or envied. In this manner he gave a thoroughly spiritual turn to the minds of the Tibetan people. While the aim of a pious Hindu—nay an Indian, is to be translated to the mansion of the Gods in his next existence, a Tibetan intuitively longs to be born as a better and holier man. While the Hindus, Mussulmans, and Christians [83] cherish a fondness and pray in this life for the bliss of paradise under the covenant of celestial service, while the materialist exerts himself to build a paradise on earth, laying its foundations on the misery of all living beings, man not excluded, the Tibetan Buddhist meditates seriously on the prospect of being born again as a man, nay a superior man for the acquirement of saintly perfections. Herein lies the secret of the success of the doctrine of incarnation, which got a firm and practical hold on the minds of the Tibetan people through the wise efforts of Dípankara Śrí Jñána—Śri Jñána, the enlightener. Among his numerous disciples mostly men of learning, position, and rank, Jinákara, well-known by his family name of Bromton, was pre-eminent. He was Atíśa's constant companion in Tibet and was so devoted to him, that he has been compared with Ananda the companion of Buddha.

Atíśa narrated twenty *Játakas* connected with Bromton's former births and identified his spirit with that of Avalokiteśvara. During his stay in the delightful valley of Yarlûng, Atíśa resided for a period of about three *varshás* (rainy seasons) in the monastery of Yerpa, the most romantic spot perhaps in all Tibet, situated in the midst of a group of snowy peaks of great height.

When Atíśa and Bromton were residing in the *vihára* (monastery) of Yerpa, situated on the neck of the snowy peak of Lha-ri, Lama Nog, one of his disciples, thus addressed the latter:—"The work called Ratnamálá which is not like other works and which you two, spiritual father and son, have prepared, in twenty-three chapters, in the course of your three years' questioning and answering, contains expositions of numerous abstruse religious questions. In it you have said that, one should cultivate an earnest love for the attainment of *Siddhi* (spiritual perfection) after he has become free from all doubts. Pray, out of your kindness express to me how you first left off doubts, and how you gained earnest living for spiritual progress?"

To this Bromton meekly replied:—"I am an ordinary person, ignorant as a boy, who is tied with numerous fetters of worldliness. How could I have quitted all religious irresolutions? Being devoid of *Abhijnána* (fore-knowledge), at the outset have I found it very hard to cultivate earnest love for spiritual perfection, for the acquirement of *Siddhi*, nor have I succeeded in silencing all religious doubts. But generally speaking I am of opinion that he who longs for emancipation, should possess cheerful confidence in the superior resources of his guide, which is essential for the attainment of *Siddhi*, as soon as he has become entirely liberated from doubts."

At this Sanphupa rose up and making three profound salutations to Atíśa, said —"This Jinákara (pointing to Bromton) has kept hidden from us all his talents. He will not shew them to us. Oh, Lama, relate unto us some of his virtues! For he really possesses [84] many latent powers, and verily we believe that when you narrate them there will be no exaggeration. By hearing his virtues the future generations of living beings will derive immense good, imbibing faith and veneration in the DHARMA. Lama, under these circumstances vouchsafe unto us a few anecdotes of his former births.

Atíśa replied :—"His virtues may be compared with a mine of precious gems. Being of a superior order they could hardly be comprehended by others. It behoves him not himself to describe them to others. I shall narrate some of them that you may store them in your mind." At this Bromton (Jinákara) said:—"Oh most venerable Lama! as you teach the DHARMA which is holy at its beginning, at its middle and at its end, may I ask what necessity there is for narrating how I wandered many times in the world. It is much better to expound the DHARMA for our instruction than to recount the incidents of my past lives. Do not therefore draw out my heart at any length." Nog now interrupted him saying :—"Oh saintly sage! do not you know that I am one who is sparing in speech and thinks much. Have I not come here leaving behind me five hundred pupils in order to know how to solve my doubts and to be free from them? If you will not yourself say anything about yourself, pray do not stand in Atíśa's way. Having regard to my grey hair and wrinkled face grant me forbearance." Hearing this entreaty Bromton could say nothing. Atíśa now in a clear voice said: "Nog you are right. I shall certainly narrate to you those secrets of his former births which are known to him and me.

THE FIRST JATAKA

In ancient times there lived in the city of Kapilavástu a Bráhman of the name of Sujáta, who was versed in all the Vedas. He had a wife of the name of Manoramá, who possessed all the accomplishments of her sex. She gave birth to a son who, from his infancy, shewed indications of extraordinary intelligence, and the development of mature age. Observing these remarkable characteristics, she gave him the name of Tvishya, and also education in the sciences of the Bráhmans. At the age of seven Tvishya acquired great proficiency in all branches of science, arithmetic and literature. Thereafter he commenced the higher studies and learned the Vedas. Once on a time hearing of his learning, the Bráhmans of Kapilavástu entered into a discussion with him on the learned sciences in which they were well versed. And finding that his attainments in those sciences were great inquired, "How is it that being so young in age you have mastered the Vedic learning?" The boy replied :—"I have a teacher in the all-perfect BUDDHA, a protector in the sacred DHARMA and a guide in the venerable SANGHA. Under the influence of these three [85] (*Ratnas*) precious Holies, I have imbibed faith in the doctrine of *Karma* and *Phala*. I do not entertain any doubt about the inevitable operation of *karma* which springs from a former cause, therefore I am most assiduous in ascetic works. It is for this reason that though still young in age, I have been able to learn the higher sciences." As soon as he said this, they took him for an incarnate being, and abandoning the discussion went to their respective homes. Having finished his studies under his professors, he returned home, to the delight of his parents who told him that the fame of his learning had already reached them. How was it, they inquired, that he acquired so much proficiency at so young an age? He replied that it was simply due to the kindness of his parents and the mercy of the three Holies. What, they again wondering inquired, could be the reason of the three *Ratnas*, taking so great an interest in his welfare? The young man replied: —"Beloved parents, the three Holies have always the welfare of all living beings before them. Now that auspicious circumstances have presented themselves to me, I should have firm faith in the doctrine of *Karma* and *Phala*." Parents :—"Who taught you that profound doctrine?" Son :—"Formerly when Sarvártha Siddha was born as the son of king Śuddhodana, in the city of Kapilavástu, I was also born there in the house of a Bráhman under the name of Jyotishka. Once when I was standing at the gate of the city there arrived the Prince accompanied by the state ministers and retinue. Seeing me the Prince said :—"Bráhman boy, do not you know that results (*Phala*) are akin to their efficient cause? Nothing can stop the operation of this principle. Do not you stand immodestly at the city gate! In your former life, you did not prove yourself a strictly moral person. Now that you have again appeared here as a human being, you should acquire efficiency in moral discipline. If you do so you will be born as a learned Bráhman under the name of Tvishya. You will then gain the highest proficiency in the doctrines of *Karma* and *Phala*, and also be free from all doubts respecting the immutability of their action. In that life you will apply yourself to the attainment of saintly perfection and thereby contributed immensely to the spiritual welfare of all living beings."

From this his parents could know for certain that he was really an incarnate being. They then wished to know if he would, for the purposes of working in the cause of humanity, remain at home or enter the life of *Pravrajya* (renunciation).

Tvishya :—"Dearest parents! A worldly life being best with troubles and miseries is like a furnace,—unless one can get out of it there is no chance of a free and happy life for him. The life of *Pravrajya* indeed resembles residence in a cool house from which one can rescue other sufferers out of the fiery pit of worldly miseries. If I am to lead a house-holder's life, it were better if no son had been born to you, for then I would be precluded from reaching a higher life, from liberating either my parents or [86] other living beings who in their former births had been my parents. In that case my being born as a man, that blessed life which is but very slowly attained, would be to no purpose."

To this the parents replied: "In working for the cause of all beings there are two ways:—first the life of a house-holder, 2nd that of a *Bodhisattva*, who has entered the *Pravrajya*. Tvishya, in this great city of Kapilavástu, the people are divided into four great castes, and eighteen different handicrafts. The people are rich and prosperous by the good government of their righteous king. They are loyal and religious, being possessed of opportunities for the accumulation of merit. For this reason the learned and qualified are respected by all. Particularly, we Bráhmans on account of the *Vidyá* and sanctity of the *Vedas* are highly honoured. Do you, Oh, Tvishya, remaining at home, work for the good of all beings, adore the *Tri-Ratna*, their protector and object of refuge. Being versed in the words of the *Vedas*, you will find the way to prosperity without being duped by any means. Practise the *Páramitas*, such as charity, &c., and acquire the DHARMA, virtues or the stages of perfection, the path to purity, to your heart's content." Tvishya:—"Parents there is good deal in what you have said:—generally the word DHARMA includes both the orthodox (Buddhist) and heterodox doctrines. The latter may be characterised as constituting selfishness and obstruction to eternal progress. The orthodox religion both in its general and particular aspects is most comprehensive, being devoted to the good of all living beings. It is therefore beyond the comprehension of the heterodox class. That which is disliked by bad people may be known as good. Therefore I should adopt the orthodox creed. It is divided into two schools, the *Maháyána* and *Hínayána*; the latter being the doctrine of the *Śrávakas*.[*] This too is superior and deeper when compared with the heterodox doctrine. Oh Parents! ask me not to live as a householder, to follow you in worldliness and in the creed of the Bráhmans. It is full of misery and keeps one busy about nothingness and emptiness. Henceforth do not call me Tvishya—for I have no enlightenment in me. For if I fail to see want of reality in the nature of all things which are *nirátmaka*, I am indeed full of darkness.[†] Among house- [87] holders the citizens of Kapilavástu are great. They are opulent and versatile. Notwithstanding my attainments, youth and personal beauty, I consider myself insignificant among them. Do not you, oh my dear Parents, out of your affection for me, put me into misery. Far better it would be to permit me to exert myself for the welfare of the world by embracing the perfect religion, that noble creed for attaining to the state of BUDDHA, the Lord of the world."

To this his parents replied:—"Son, if you embrace the religion of BUDDHA, where will you enter the *Pravrajya*, who will be your teacher, into what monastery will you go to learn how to become a BUDDHA? If you go to any place or mountain retreat beyond the limits of the city of Kapilavástu we shall keenly feel your separation, you are indeed, like our eye. Your absence will make us blind—you are like our heart, if you leave us, we shall be lifeless. You are like our limbs, if you forsake us we shall become cripples. Oh, Tvishya! if you are indeed desirous of regarding all beings as your parents and to work for their welfare, why should you be regardless of us, your immediate parents to whom you owe your existence? Why should you plunge us into misery instead of making us happy?" Tvishya replied, "My dear Parents, what you say is true, but I regard my native land as the residence of the arch enemy, the demon Mára, and my home, as a prison house where there is no freedom, and where no life can be happy. The concerns of a worldly man are like so many chains which entangle him and from which there is no escape to the land of freedom. Desires and attachment are like poison, though transiently sweet and charming, they are ultimately destructive so, my dear Parents, in this great city of Kapilavástu there is no place where I can apply myself to spiritual study and liberate myself from the snare of doubts.

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[*] In the *Hinayana* School, passing over numerous living beings who have been our kind parents in numberless births, with utter indifference, the *Śravaka Bhikshu* betakes himself chiefly to the observance of *Vinaya* discipline for the sake of his own entrance, to the state of peace. Here he is selfish immodest and extremely short-sighted in his views. This school is, therefore, to be avoided. In the *Mahayana* School one has to look after the spiritual welfare of all beings who have been his parents and for that he has to identify himself with the six classes of beings and to sympathise with them in their miseries and sufferings.

[†] By means of the three kinds of wisdom, having discerned that they are *niratmaka* (void in nature) helpless at all times, he looks to their interest, and does not pass over them. Had they *Atma* in them they would not have been helpless. Such a man is the son of BUDDHA. He has [87] found the way to Nirvana; compared with the *dharma* of the Śravaka, a millenium of his virtues is greater than the eternal resources of the Śravaka. Therefore one should betake oneself to the doctrine of the *Mahayana* School. [88]

I am in need of a place of solitude where I may sit absorbed in higher thoughts for continuing my spiritual progress. You say very kindly that I am dear to you like your eye. If indeed I may be so compared let me then discharge the work of the eye, *i.e.* see myself. That eye which fails to perceive its own existence is really blind. For if I remain at home I shall not be able to see on what depend the miseries of myself, yourselves and the world. If I cannot see the advantages of the state in which liberation from worldly sufferings is possible, I shall indeed consider myself blind.

You, out of your extreme affection for me, compare me with your heart. If so, must I not then do the functions of the heart? You also liken me to your limbs. What are then the services rendered [88] by the limbs? When the heart ceases to beat and the limbs refuse to do their respective works, that one is said to be dead. Permit me, my dear parents, to so work that I may prove to you the heart on which rests the life of the emancipated. The limbs will then take you to the rest of Nírvána. For these reasons take me to where I may find my teacher (*Guru*) and solitude." Arguing in this manner Tvishya at last prevailed upon his parents to let him betake himself to the life of a *Bodhisattva* hermit by entering the order of *Pravrajya* or renunciation. They gave him leave to find for himself a hermitage within the city of Kapilavástu where lived many holy men. He was told by every one whom he interrogated about his spiritual instructor that his best guide was to be found in his parents, and if he could please them he would gain his ends. He was also told that his father and mother and the three *Ratna* were the most powerful factors of his destiny. He could achieve nothing successfully by acting contrary to their wishes. Therefore it was essential for his success to be guided by their advice in adopting the life of a religious recluse.

He was also told that if any holy man happened to point out to him a sacred spot fitted for his residence he should go there and never fail to always seek his spiritual instructor. For it was in such a personage alone that one's real parents were to be found.

One morning Tvishya proceeded to the lake called "Swan's swim," situated to the south of the city where the people of Kapilavástu used to resort for pleasure and sport. There to his great delight he found a number of boys of pleasant manners. As soon as he came to their midst they felt intuitively happy and said :—"Welcome to you oh charming Bráhman boy. We are pleased to see your lovely face. Tell us how we can help you? We shall be glad to give you any thing that you may want from us. Come here as often as you wish to this delightful grove which is variegated with different flowers and contains beautiful and grassy banks, and bushes ever enlivened with the sweet songs of birds and sylvan music. Holy men also come here to bathe and to enjoy solitude. We never met you before but having once seen you we like to gaze at your lovely face.." To this Tvishya replied:—"Friends, surely you who had been angels in your former life have come here for merriment and sport. You have showered sweet praises on me. You seem to possess understanding and sense. How is it then that you are so fond of foolish amusements and play? Why not delight in the real pleasures of study and take lessons from some good Guru? Do you all then not like to go to play in the lotus grove of serene joy where there is no death? Let us be companions in the way to that grove of eternal spring where gods and men vie with each other in the noble work of doing good to others. Friends, behave well while it is still your privilege to be in this blessed existence." He then made certain inquiries about the city and the park. The boys after inquiring [89] of his parentage and name, said that they were but boys, not wise men who possessed wisdom and fore-knowledge. They could not give him any information beyond what they had heard from their parents. They heard that about one-twentieth of the population of the city of Kapilavástu were educated men. Now that they heard his advice they would give up play and join him if permitted in the pursuit of learning. Tvishya replied if indeed you are willing to do so, you should go home to inform your parents, that you would henceforth become students. The boys now looking at him stood motionless not knowing what to do. It was hardly in their power now to be separated from him. At this time nine divine beings assuming the shape of nine swans, appeared before Tvishya and blessed him. All the boys drew near them and with attention heard them speak. Tvishya addressing them said—Oh miraculous beings, in this city of Kapilavástu the people are fond of worldliness and pleasures. The king is after wealth and pomp. I am averse to remain at home buried in false and empty pleasures. I love solitude and holy company. Tell me where to find my Guru to guide me in matters spiritual and sacred learning."

Pleased with this request the chief of the miraculous swans thus addressed him—"Hear then oh, Tvishya, I shall reveal to you that secret. From here in the direction of south at a distance of 500 miles there is a mountain retreat where resides a Bráhman sage named Abhayamati. He was your spiritual instructor in your former births. Go therefore to him oh *Kula putra* (noble born) to take the vow of *Pravrajya* (renunciation) to dispel your doubts and for concentrating on the acquisition of *Siddhi*. The way to Dharma is best with dangers. Temptations and attractions to worldliness are many. The smiles of beauties and the charms of the daughters of *Mára*, their angelic dress and ravishing voice and bewitching manners may rob thee in the way or lead astray. Fly then from their midst and go to that hermitage in the midst of mountains that the Bráhman's son may meet the Bráhman sage." So saying they flew towards the direction of south.

Tvishya sedately reflected for a moment what could be the meaning of these revelations! Then quietly retracing his steps towards his home, full of hopes and happy at heart he related the cheering news to his parents. His mother first of all said:—"Happy I am, my son, that I have given birth to you who are a saint incarnate, untaught, yet self-taught you have learnt the Dharma. Now I see that like a hero of faith you will proceed to the south to meet that Bráhman sage who is the instructor of a thousand saints. The Bráhmans of this city dare not stand before you to argue on the Dharma or the *Śástras*. Go therefore, if you will, to the sage Abhayamati and be glorious, wise and learned in Dharma." His father next said:—"If it is true that the sage Abhayamati who resides in the rocky retreat of the south had been your tutor in former lives, surely you should go to him. Tvishya now begged them to take him to his *guru* without delay. [90]

His parents accordingly made arrangements for the journey and on a fine morning while the sun was rising above the horizon they proceeded toward the south. Arriving at the mountain retreat of the sage, Tvishya recited a *gatha* (hymn) from the Vedas and thrice walking round him reverentially made three profound salutations to the venerable sage and thus addressed him:—

"Oh the Light of the world, my sole refuge!
Thou art my protector I am told,
In all ages past, present and future.
Lama grant thy mercy unto me,
Dispel my doubts and lead me to light,
The rays of the sun destroys the world's gloom
May your glory refulgent enlighten my heart!"

Abhayamati replied:—

"Oh, Tvishya! it is good that you have come to me. Mistake not the efficient cause for its fruit. All causes being void in their nature, produce results which owing to a variety of errors the ignorant mistake for realities. These erring beings then are the progenitors, called parents—in this world. Tvishya, you seem to possess powers for observing things properly (in their true state.) They indeed constitute wisdom and resource.

Do you then sitting on the cushion of meditation and wearing the dress of good morals, eat the inexhaustible food of contemplation. Also summon fortitude and perseverance to your service, and wearing the armour of patience and forbearance vanquish your enemies with the weapons of *prajná* (divine wisdom).

I reside in this mountain retreat and pass my time in meditation, being lost in abstraction. I am free from dull sleep, heaviness of heart and worldly anxieties. Possessed of a pure heart I work for the good of the world."

Then looking to Tvishya's parents he continued:—"Oh noble-hearted souls! Sujáta and Monoramá, happy are you, for unto you hath been born a good and worthy son who will be blessed in all his births. Though you reside in the city of Kapilavástu you do not forget to do good to others, for you have brought unto me your only beloved son to enter the state of *Pravrajya* and to be separated from you for ever."

To this the parents replied:—"Oh venerable sage, who art most holy and glorious in the assembly of Bráhmans! We consider ourselves very lucky, and indeed it is no ordinary satisfaction to us to be permitted to place our beloved Tvishya in your venerable charge. Now grant us leave that we may return to our home." Abhayamati after giving the vows of religious renunciation to Tvishya, conducted him to a grotto called the 'cell of meditation.' Here the young Bráhman commenced his new life, devoting his time and attention to study and meditation, abstracting his mind altogether from worldly thoughts. [91]

One day while he was absorbed in study the devil *Mára* looking grave and heavy at heart and assuming the guise of a saint, came to his cell and said:—"Tvishya you have entered the *Pravrajya*, renounced the concerns of the world, have spent nearly nine years here in abstraction for the attainment of perfection. Now having left what was to be left off you have gained that spirituality, which is good and profitable. You have indeed become a holy person now, but do not you know that to sit alone confined in a cell is contrary to the doctrine of doing good to others? Come out therefore from confinement and proceed to the city to do good to others and to live there in comfort and ease according to your own pleasure. Believe me I give you this advice in earnest."

To him Tvishya replied:—"Yes, yes, what you say may be true, but I must not give up my vows nor quit the three holies, for they are the objects of my worship and happiness. Let me live in them and let my love for them ever increase."

One month after this the sage Abhayamati came to see his pupil. Being informed of what had passed between his false friend—*Mára* and Tvishya he was extremely delighted. He praised the firmness and persevering faith in the three holies which marked his pupil's character, and declared that he had indeed become the son of BUDDHA. He exhorted him to continue in his endeavours with still greater devotion to the acquisition of spiritual progress. If he fulfilled what was required for him, in time to come, undoubtedly both the teacher and the pupil would be called to preach the profound doctrine in Himavat—the border country of Aryavarta."

At the conclusion of this Játaka Atíśa continued:—Oh Nog Legpai Sherab! that Lama Abhayamati was no other than myself. You are that good lady Monoramá incarnate. Sujáta of that time is our friend Khu. That Bráhman boy Tvishya who received his spiritual lessons from the sage Abhayamati is Jinákara himself.

This Jinákara (*H*Brom *s*ton *R*gyal-va*h*i *h*byun-*g*nas) was the founder of the Grand Hierarchy of Tibet.

APPENDIX I

A LAY OF LACHEN

BY LATE HON'BLE COLMAN MACAULAY

THE purple shadows upward crept
On Sikkim's mountains blue,
The snows their solemn vigil kept
Those stately watchers true.
The frosted peaks of Chola gleamed,
Broken and bare and bold,
On the glittering crest of Kinchin streamed
The sun-light clear and cold.
The fleeting clouds brief shadows flung
On mighty Junnoo's brow, or hung
On Pindim's forehead near;
And Donkia's beetling bastions frowned
A silent warning far around
No foot may venture here.

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The light air bore the sullen roar
Of Rungit rushing by
And Bengal's Lord in thought was deep
As he gazed across the mountains steep
And he spake his counsel high:—
"No travellers come from far Tibet,
From the mystic land no tidings yet
For many a month are sent;
No more the tinkling bells ring clear
On Lingtu's heights, by Beddon's mere;
On Jelep's path no step resounds
No smoke at even upward bounds
From weary trader's tent.
Do thou, Macaulay, ready make,
To Sikkim's Chief my greeting take
And see his father's solemn pact
Is true fulfilled in word and act.
And hie thee to the frontier far,
Journey towards the Northern Star

Speak fair the Lord of Kambajong
And seek his friendship new.
The path is steep, the road is long,
But the purpose high and true.
Say that you cross the snow drifts sad
But to seek the grasp of friendship's hand,
We wish but the welfare of the land
To make both peoples glad."

3

Macaulay took his Chief's commands,
And, for that the city was long and steep,
And the ice was thick and the snow was deep,
And the wind that blows across the sands
Of Tartary is biting keen
He called companions three
To go with him across the sheen
Of the snow fields wild and free.

4

First genial Evans—wisest he
Of all wise lawyers, and his place,
At Bar and Board is ever high,—
Sage in council, for a space
Fled from the wiles of Dorson's race
And Rent Bill papers dry,
To breathe the air of Sikkim free,
To wander by her purling rills
And seek the beauty of her hills
The blueness of her sky.

5

And Paul who Sikkim loves so well
That still the native chieftains tell,
With kindly smile and grasp of hand,
That of the *Sahib log** who cross
The Rungit's silver fall,
None know the story of their land,
None can its meaning understand,
As does that *Sahib* tall.

---

* European Gentlemen.

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6

And cheery Gordon, blithe and gay,
Sang as they toiled along the way
To Tibet's frontier fair;
That soldier minstrel whose guitar
By Lachen's stream or Lushai hill
Has often cheered the camp, and still
Is heard in Cooch Behar.

7

And in the vales of Sikkim lone,
As gay he bought her brooch or zone,
Did many a maiden fair
Sigh, as she brushed a tear away,
"He will not buy what eke he may;
"He buys all things throughout the land,
"Oh, would he only buy my hand,
"That soldier debonnair!"

8

And Sarat Chandra, hardy son
Of soft Bengal, whose wondrous store
Of Buddhist and Tibetan lore
A place in fame's bright page has won,
Friend of the Tashu Lama's line,
Whose eyes have seen, the gleaming shrine
Of holy Lhassa, came to show
The wonders of the land of snow.

9

They journeyed over steep Tendong,
And through the vale of Teesta fair,
By Shilling's slopes and Yeung's Mendong,
And Kubbi's smiling pastures rare
And Ryott's roaring falls,
To where, high perched on Mafi's breast
With banners gay and brazen crest,
Shone Sikkimputti's halls.

10

Right royal welcome Sikkim gave,*
With high carouse and banquets brave,
And many a pledge of right good-will,
And many a promise new
His compact ever to fulfil
And prove his fealty true.
And to the Lord of Kambajong
Swift messengers he sent:
"Lo, o'er the hills to Giagong,
"By Lachen's vale and Phallung's snows,
"From great Bengal an envoy goes
"To greet thee in his tent."

11

And leaving Sikkim's halls, the four
O'er Mafi's hill, by Ringun's rill
'Neath stately Gnarim's summit hoar,
By Namga's shades and Chakoong's glades,
And rapid Teesta's rocky shore
And Choongtam's marshes low,
And fairy Lachen's forests green,
And boiling Zemu's silver sheen,
And cherished still of Hooker's name,
Travelled till they the torrent crossed
At Tullum Samdong hard in frost
And Tungu deep in snow.

12

The moon to nearly full had grown
Ere they the frontier cold and lone
Did reach, where winds swept Giagong
Near twice six thousand cubits sheer,
O'er India's plains and peoples' throng
Lies white and chill and drear
'Twixt Kinchinjow and Chomiom.
No man or beast may make his home
That barren snow-field near.

---

* The present Mahâ Rajah of Sikkim, Thutob Namgay.

13

The day was waning, and the crest
Of Chomiomo paler grew,
As sank the sun into the west
And ever lengthening shadows threw
The giants hoard between.
The north wind sharp and sharper blew,
The frost was piercing keen;
Night followed day, but still no sound
Was heard the silent snow drift round
Of coming footsteps, and no light
Of lantern or of torch did peer
Across the waste of gleaming white
To say that help was near.*

14

No light had they, nor drink, nor meta,
Nor could they forward go or back;
The drifts were deep around the track,
The snow was thick around the feet;
And night like a funeral pall lay black
On a snow winding sheet.

15

The moon rose slow, and pale, and sad
O'er the royal crest of Kinchinjow,
And Chomiomo's peak was clad
In the light that bathed his icy brow;
And a shimmering moonbeam sad caressed
Her white still face and summit proud
As they laid their weary limbs to rest
On her silent spreading shroud.

16

At length that awful night was past,
No more they shuddered 'neath the blast;

---

* Report of a Mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier in 1884, p. 38. By Hon'ble Colman Macaulay, M.A., C.S., C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

The morning smiled across the wild,
And the tentsmen followed fast.
Down Kongralamo's snowy waste
The Yaks with stately movement paced,
And five score swordsmen's weapons glanced
As Kamba's chieftain grave advanced
The mystic *chorton*[*] past.

17

And in Macaulay's tent that day,
In high durbar and bright array,
With welcome glad and presents fair,
Was Bengal's greeting told.
And Kamba's Lord did oft declare
That Tibet's people fain would dare
The dangers of the road, to see
Victoria's Empire, rich and rare,
Of mighty Tara[†] regent she,
And with her happy people free
Would friendly converse hold.

18

Next day with many a greeting kind
And many a pledge of friendship true
They parted; and the wondrous blue
Of Tibet's sky was left behind.

19

And the Yule-tide far away,
As sweet young faces wondering gaze,
When downward fall the ashes grey
And upward leaps the yellow blaze,
Those comrades four may tell the tale
Of how they trod fair Lachen's vale,
So lovely and so long,
And how they braved the withering gale
And lay beneath the snowpeaks pale
At lonely Giagong.

§"Decided to push on to Giagong. Arrived at flat under Giagong (keeping Lachen flowing under ice on right) at about 6

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[*] **Sacred pyramidal buildings originally tombs of departed saints.**
[†] **The Goddess of Divine Wisdom, adored by the Northern Buddhists.**

o'clock. Small bare patch here under a snow drift. Saw some Tibetans on spur ahead of us. Four of them brought dried cowdung and made a small fire, which lasted only a few minutes and was quite useless. Intense frost; moustache frozen. Walked up and down to keep ourselves alive. Paul done up. When night closed in, I proposed going back to meet coolies. Gordon declared Paul unable, and proposed going up to Tibetans. I went back with Furchung to meet coolies, but after a couple of hundred yards we got off the track, and nearly up to our necks in snow. I was glad to scramble back on to the track, and at Furchung's entreaty returned to the patch of bare ground where the others were. Prospect of spending night walking up and down. Boots frozen hard. Nothing in luncheon basket but some tinned oat cakes, a paté de foils, a couple of glasses of whisky and a bottle of green Chartreuse. No light. At last heard hallooing, but only the Sikkim Dingpon and Denzing arrived to say that the coolies had thrown themselves on the ground at sitting and declined to move. Servants had fallen several times and said they would die. At about 10 o'clock saw lanterns gleaming across snow and five coolies (heavily bribed by Sarat arrived with some firewood and our wraps).* Lighted blazing fire and settled down round it. Furchung warming my shoes and taking off frozen boots, spread our waterproof sheets on the ground with our feet to the fire. Old Phipun Kunchuk behaved like a brick, and wrapped me up splendidly. Gave them and coolies the bottle of Chartreuse, and heard them smacking their lips over it before they curled themselves up altogether, to keep themselves alive during the night. Moon rose over Kinchinjow. Wind coming down the pass cut through *Posteens*† and blankets. No sleep for bitter cold. Watched the icy crest of Kinchinjow gleaming in the moonlight lying on my back on snow, different from prospect from Darjeeling."

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* [It was at this critical moment that my brother Sarat Chandra sent timely help. Ed.].

† Tibetan over-coat lined with lambskin.

APPENDIX II

AN ACCOUNT OF PRANPOOREE*

"IN the discussion of geographical topics, the Regent's mind took a very extensive range, and scarcely left any quarter of the globe untouched. Teshoo Lama had been visited, he told me, not many years before, by an itinerant Gosien, who assured his inquirers, that he had seen a country in which half the year was day, and the other half night; and he appealed to me, whether this was a false report or not; a circumstance which shews their limited knowledge of the sciences, both of geography and astronomy.

The Gosien alluded to by the Regent, whose name is Pranpooree, exhibited so extraordinary any instance of religious penance, that I cannot resist the temptation of relating some particulars of his life.

Having been adopted by a Hindu devotee, and educated by him in the rigid tenets of his religion, he was yet young, when he commenced the course of his extraordinary mortification. The first vow, which the plan of life, he had chosen to himself, induced him to make, was to continue perpetually upon his legs, and neither to sit down upon the ground, nor lie down to rest, for the space of twelve years. All this time, he told me, he had employed in wandering through different countries.

When I inquired how he took the indispensable refreshment of sleep, when wearied with fatigue, he said, that at first, to prevent his falling, he used to be tied with ropes, to some tree or post, but that this precaution, after some time became unncessary, and he was able to sleep standing, without such support.

The complete term of his penance having expired, the next he undertook was to hold his hands, locked in each other, over his head, the fingers of one hand, dividing those of the other for the space of twelve years. Whether this particular period is chosen in compliment to the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or to the Indian cycle of twelve years, I cannot decide. He was still determined not to dwell in any fixed abode; so that before the term of his last vow could be accomplished, he had travelled over the greater part of the continent of Asia. He first set out, by crossing the Peninsula of India, through Guzerat; he then passed by Surat to Bussora, and thence to Constantinople; from Turkey he went to Ispahan; and sojourned so long among the different Persian tribes, as to obtain a considerable knowledge of their language in which [9] he conversed with tolerable ease. In his passage from thence towords Russia, he fell in with the Kussaucs (hordes of Cossacs) upon the borders of the Caspian Sea, where he narrowly escaped being condemned to perpetual slavery; at length he suffered to pass on and reach Moscow; he then travelled along the northern boundary of the Russian Empire, and through Siberia arrived at Pekin in China, from whence he came through Tibet, by the way of Teshoo Lomboo, and Nepal, down to Calcutta.

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* Captain S. Turner's Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama in A.D. 1783, p. 269. [9]

When I first saw him at this place in the year 1783, he rode upon a piebald Tangun horse from Bhutan, and wore a satin embroidered dress, given him by the Teshoo Lama, of which he was not a little vain. He was robust and hale; and his complexion contrasted with a long bushy black beard, appeared really florid. I do not suppose that he was then forty years of age. Two Goseins attended him, and assisted him in mounting and alighting from his horse. Indeed, he was indebted to them for the assistance of their hand on every occasion; his own being fixed and immovable in the position in which he had placed them, were of course perfectly useless.

The circulation of blood seemed to have forsaken his arms; they were withered, void of sensation and inflexible. Yet he spoke to me with confidence of recovering the use of them, and mentioned his intention to take them down the following year when the term of his penance would expire.

Other Goseins assured me, though I could not help doubting the fact, that it is practicable to restore withered limbs thus circumstanced to perfect use. This is effected, they say, though not without great labour and some pain, by means of long continued friction, before a large fire, with a certain ointment which they compound. To complete the full measure of his religious penance, I understood that there still remained two other experiments for Pranpooree to perform. In the first of these the devotee is suspended by the feet to the branch of a tree over a fire which is kept in a condition of blaze and swung backward and forward, his hair passing through the flame for one *Pahr* and a quarter, that is, three hours and three quarters. Having passed through this fiery trial, he may then prepare himself for the last act of probation which is to be buried alive, standing upright in a pit dry for the purpose; the fresh earth being thrown in upon him so that he is completely covered. In this situation he must remain for one *pahr* and a quarter, or three hours and three quarters, and if at the expiration of that time, on the removal of the earth he should be found alive, he will ascend into the highest rank among the most pure of the *Yogee*." [10]

APPENDIX III

A TRIP TO SIKKIM, BY NOBIN CHANDRA DAS

(*A fragment written in 1877*)

WE left Darjeeling on the afternoon of the 27th January 1877 and walked down hill continually till we were overtaken by night. We passed the night at a place near Badamtam under the open sky. Here we met a somewhat warmer climate; a screen set up on bamboos protected us from the inclemency of the wind that blew chill from the higher regions. Several Bhuteas who were on their way to Darjeeling stopped also by our side and became our temporary neighbours. At day-break we were roused by the warbling of birds and the murmur of mountain rills. These rills are the sources on which the natives depend for the supply of water. They generally mark the sites of villages. Every village has in or near it, one or more of these streams of water, so necessary for the support of human life. Their passage invariably lies through pebbles and masses of stones worn out by the continuous flow of water. In many rills the force of the current is so strong that nothing can withstand it. They cut their way through solid rocks; stupendous masses of stone and huge trunks of trees are carried away in their onward course. In some places the water flows gently down a slope; elsewhere it falls from a height of several hundred feet with a noise with which the valleys resound, proclaiming to a distance of several miles its bountiful career, covering the irregular projections of rocks and detached stones in the way, with a coating of foam which rises and boils for ever and ever. The ear is charmed with the everlasting music of these dancing and playful rivulets, as the sight is gratified with their wild grandeur, while the cooling effect is almost indescribable. They are the sources of the rivers which wash and fertilize the plains. We saw many of the streams which combining with others have swelled into the furious rivulets, the Rangeet and the Teesta of which the latter has its origin among the snows of the grey-headed Kanchanjanga, as the holy Ganga is said in the Puranas to have descended from the clotted hair of Siva's head, too true to be mythic, if the snow-clad peaks of the Himalaya were meant to be a symbol of the god. It is true that many of the rills are melted snow dripping directly down the slopes of the hills; but some of those we saw issued directly from the sides of the hills in which the water has been absorbed. Here the water falls from a projected rock, there a piece of bamboo has been fitted for an easy flow, elsewhere the water is collected in open cavities of the rock to which a bamboo tube is applied for the purpose of drinking.

In this exquisite way has Providence provided for an easy supply of water to the natives of the hills, with respect to which the scarcity of water is the first idea which strikes a man of the plains. But in this respect the native of the plain may know that the hill-man is placed in a better position than he is. He has to dig ponds, construct wells for the purpose; which the hill-man is under no such necessity; he has simply to open his mouth under the flow of a rill or else to apply his little tube, or to fill his large bamboo, 3 to 4 yards long, no other water pot [11] made of earth or metal, large or small, is either necessary or convenient to him. We ought to remember with a sense of gratitude that the children of the hills first drink the bounty of nature; that the excess after they have satisfied their want, unlimited as is the supply, is the source of our rivers and with them of our civilization.

We went on our way downwards and at 8 A.M. reached the Great Rangeet which marks the boundary between English possessions and those of the State of Sikkim. Over the Rangeet for the first time I saw the cane bridge so much heard of; the bridge appeared to be very old and not much used except during the rainy season. We crossed the rivulet by a boat which was a hollowed trunk of a tree. We stopped for a few hours on the Sikkim bank of the Rangeet and set out on our journey at noon. We rode up the hills for the rest of the day and just reached the first Bhutea monastery in the hill of Namchi when the shades of evening closed fast around us. There is a solid pile of stone of an oblong form, the sides being about 24 by 10 feet, and the height about 6 ft. On all sides of this rough pile there are small niches, the inner walls being smooth slabs of stone, on each of which is painted the image of Buddha in his various postures, the image of Rudra or Mahákál or the mysterious Padma and on which are engraved the sacred characters. On the exterior side of each stone of the walls are engraved the names of the deities or *mantras* in Tibetan. In front of, and behind the fantastic *stupa* are posted tall bamboos, bearing flags written all over in Tibetan letters in a beautiful form, resembling a fresco. The flags are peculiar in their shape—a long piece of cloth, generally silk, about half a yard wide is attached by its long end to the pole. When it flutters in the wind, the appearance is like a blade of knife, placed in the direction of the wind. Similar flags are also set up in front of every Bhutea village, the object being to drive off, according to popular belief, evil spirits. Scraps of inscribed paper are seen fastened to branches of trees for a like purpose.

As we approached the monastery, several Bhuteas both young and old gathered round us—a strange people with strange faces. The Lama or the head of the monastery who was distinguished from the rest by his age and venerable appearance, received us with some regard.

The Gompa, or the monastery at Namchi is a new one. The capitals of the wooden pillars are tastefully ornamented in the Buddhist type and are very beautiful to look at. After dinner we drowned the day's weariness in a sound sleep.

In the morning we mounted our ponies and wended our way up hill. The hills of Sikkim are not like those of the plains of Bengal; they are hills over topping hills. As soon as we ascend up one, a new height presents itself to the sight, with a vaporous top, as far as the eye can reach; while looking behind, we find the hill, we struggled to climb up, to wear the aspect of a plain.

It was noon when we reached a vast forest of oak trees. As far as the eye could reach on either side of the way, I saw nothing but an infinitude of oaks, young and old, standing erect in their sylvan majesty in such a thick body that a deer can hardly run through it without hinderance. Most of the trees count their age by centuries. Their trunks are straight like flag poles to the height of 3 or 4 hundred feet, above which spread the branches in the likeness of umbrellas. It struck me with a feeling of awe to look up at their tops. The trees are without exception, covered with green moss, several inches thick giving them an appearance of wild grandeur almost unspeakable. I was reminded of the Hindu [12] sage, a hair of whose body is said to drop by the lapse of a *yuga*. The moss is just like green velvet and serves to protect the body of the trees from the effect of snow-fall to which they are for ever exposed. Innumerable creepers, hundreds of feet long, wrapped up with the moss, hang down like rods in the firm grasp of hoary age. Many of the creepers hung in splendid festoons over our heads, connecting the oaks on either side of the way. The height, the magnitude, the position and the wear of ages visible on these ancient Himalayan oaks cannot fail to impress a poet with the idea that they are pillars posted on the heights of the Himalaya to support the vault of heaven. At noon we experienced the gloom of evening, while we passed through the forest. We could hardly see things at a distance of 20 yards, and I had to call my brother Sarat Chandra to lead me, whenever I lost sight of him on account of the misty gloom. The fact was, we passed through a cloud which had enveloped the forest.* Our clothes were all wet with dews or rather dense vapours. The extreme cold penetrated through the lined robes of Bhutea blankets I wore. My hands and legs were almost benumbed and it was with difficulty that I could hold the reins of my Bhutea pony.

After crossing the forest we threaded our way down a difficult descent. Our troubles were increased by rain which rendered the whole path slippery and extremely dangerous. We were often obliged to dismount as the ponies could with difficulty carry their own body down the perilous path. At every step the foot tended to slip, and I was in fear of falling headlong into the abyss thousands of feet deep. It was despair of life which gave me strength and patience to struggle with the faithless path. Our Bhutea servants and coolies felt no such difficulty as we did. With them the steep and the slippery path seemed to be a genial element. The descent took us three hours and just when the gloom of night spread like a pall over the face of nature, we took shelter in a Bhutea house in the village of Timi. The house was a homely one. The four slopes of the roof were thatched with twisted bamboo pieces instead of long grass, but exactly by the same method. The bamboo thatching though not so even and good looking as that made of grass, is yet more lasting than the latter. The floor consisted of planks resting on wooden pillars about 4 ft. above the ground. The lower storey under the floor is reserved for swine and goats. There are two apartments in the house. In the front room is the hearth, round which the family circle is formed for enjoying the genial warmth. The fire-place is paved with stone and clay. The hinder apartment is very spacious and is the parlour and common bedroom. Over this there is an inner roof made of close packed bamboos, on which provisions are stored. From this roof is hung in beautiful rows the maize or the Indian corn presenting to the eye uniform globules of pearl and ruby. The walls are made of bamboos. The only thing which shocks a Hindu is meat hung in a part of the room with the ribs opened, sickening to the sight. Close to the hindmost wall of the room, there is a large wooden structure in the form of an almirah. This frame is decorated according to the means of family to serve the purpose of a chapel. On the shelves are placed little figures of Sakya Muni and his disciples. A lamp is allowed to burn all the night in front of the images. [13]

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* "Dear to the sylphs are the cool shadows thrown.
By dark clouds wandering round the mountain's zone,
Till frightened by the storm and rain they seek
Eternal sunshine on each loftier peak."
Griffith's Kumar Sambhava.

Appendix IV

PANCHEN RINPOCHE LOZAN PANDAN YESHE*

By Sarat Ch. Das, in the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal

His precious Holiness Pandita Ratna Sumati Śri Jñána, an incarnation of Acárya Abhayakara Gupta of Gaur, was born at Tashi-tse, a village of Tsang in Tibet, in the year 1737 A.D. The extreme fairness of his person, and above all, his lovely appearance attracted the notice of all who saw him. At the end of the second month the child lisped in the mystic syllables *om-mani padme hum*. As he grew up, he was observed to delight at the sight of the monks of Tashi-lhunpo. Whenever he saw an *Achara* (native of India) he used to say *Bhala*, *Bhala*. * * * * When only three years old he was found continually engaged in wroshipping a bright handsome image of Buddha. The fame of this wonderful child reached Tashi-lhunpo. The *Don-ner* Lozang Tchondu was assured by many of the re-appearance of the soul of the late Panchen in the person of the said child. Accordingly he equipped himself with some of the personal properties of the late Panchen Rinpo-che, such as the rosary, and bell, the articles used in consulting the tutelary gods, mixed with several imitation sets, and arrived at Tashi-tse. On being subjected to the ordeal of finding out the real properties, the princely child easily and un-erringly picked out all that belonged to the late Panchen, and moreover called the *Don-ner* by his name, though he had never heard it before. This excellent acquital of himself established beyond doubt the identity of his soul with that of the late Panchen. The boy now four years old was therefore brought to Tashi-lhunpo with great pomp and procession. The Dalai Lama Kalzang Gya-tcho gave him the name of Lozang Pandan Ye-she. On this occasion the Emperor of China, most of the Mongolian princes, the Tárá-nátha Lama of Khalkha, the government of Lhasa with its dependent Chiefs, and the three great monasteries of Sera, Dapung and Gahdan, sent him innumerable presents of various sorts. About this time a flowery shower fell from the sky, which glittered with many a rain-bow and conical halos of light. The atmosphere was laden with sweat fragrance. On a back ground of variegated clouds, the shapes of a lion, tiger, elephant, horse and a man under a canopy of radiance, surrounded by innumerable flags, were manifest to the eyes of all. During the sixth year of his age he was carefully instructed in aphorisms and mysticism by his chief spiritual minister Lozang Yong-dsin, from whom he received the vows of monkhood when only seven years old. In the tenth lunar month of the same year he took his seat on the hierarchical chair in the grand worship hall. On this occasion also, the Emperor of China, the [14] Dalai Lama, the king of Tibet, Miwan Sonam-tob gyé, and the different Mongal princes sent him present, which amounted to more than 30,000 pieces of horse-hoof shaped silver, 5,000 gold *Srangs*, 10,000 pieces of satin and 20 porters' loads of precious stones, such as turquoises, corals, cats'-eyes, onyx, amber, and pearl; so that Tashi-lhunpo overflowed with riches. The young Panchen gave sumptuous dinners to all the monasteries of U and Tsang about 700 in number and distributed alms consisting of sliver pieces to all the monks. At the age of eleven he came to Lhása to visit the Dalai Lama. Although he received instruction in the Shástras from the Dalai, yet he was seated on the right hand side of a throne as high as the Dalai's own. After a short stay at Lhasa he returned to Tsang. At the age of fifteen he again visited Lhasa, heard some of the sermons of the Dalai Lama, made offerings to the sacred images of Akshobhya and Gautama, entertained the Será, Dapung and Ga*h*dan monasteries with tea and soup meal, and distributed a great deal of money for charitable purposes. At the age of twenty he visited Lhasa a third time and received ordination to the priesthood from the Dalai Lama Kal-zang Gya-tcho.

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* The Great Tashi Lama to whose Court George Bogle was sent as an Envoy from the first Governor-General of India. [14]

* * * *

The twenty-first year of the Panchen's age was inaugurated by the advent to Tashi-lhunpo of Chankya Rinpo-che, the Emperor's spiritual guide, the greatest of the imperial high priests of the celestial Empire, to see the Viceregent of Buddha in the person of the Panchen Rinpo-che.

* * * *

Chankya Rinpo-che stayed at Tashi-lhunpo for several months, and received from the Panchen lessons in the Shátras and Tantras. In the year 1759 the Panchen Rinpo-che sanctified the golden tomb of the late Dalai Lama, whose soul was reported to have appeared in the person of a child. At the special request of the Emperor, he visited Lhasa. On examination he found that the incarnation was unmistakably genuine, and gave him the name of Lozang Jampal Gya-tcho. After lavishing alms on the various monasteries he returned to Tashi-lhunpo. Three years afterwards he again visited Lhasa to place the young Dalai on the throne of Potala. He commemorated the occasion by giving grand dinner to the temporal and spiritual lords of the country.

The amount of gold and silver expended on this occasion could not be estimated. During the return journey to Tashi-lhunpo he visited Gyang-tse, the monastery of which place he richly endowed. At Tashi-lhunpo he administered the vows of monkhood to several thousand novices. At the age of twenty-eight he visited Lhasa and entreated the young Dalai Lama into the priesthood. In the year 1766 he received a deputation from the Emperor of China consisting of Aśakhon Kwan Ampan, the keeper of the grand seal Nag-wang Paljor, a 3*rd* grade mandarine Khiya-thelen, together with twenty other officials. They brought him the Emperor's letter [15] written on thirteen gold tablets, each an inch thick, 3 inches broad and about 20 inches long. The following were the contents of the letter.

"The commands of the all-powerful Hwang (Emperor) derived of old from Heaven, extend over all the world. The four great oceans alone encompass the reign of his excellent laws which are essential for the well-being and happiness of mankind. Throughout all the quarters in all ages, the fame of Hwang's merciful and generous protection is proclaimed. He adores and venerates the sacred creed of the yellow that of sublime precepts, whose spirits, pre-eminently holy in the moral virtues, have toiled according to the canonical rules. Thou, O precious Panchen! having fully comprehended the teachings of that sacred creed sittest over the head of the Dalai Lama. Thy illustrious predecessor has obtained sainthood. Thou, too, during this sojourn in the world, by the observance of descriptive and moral rectitude, shouldst obtain sanctity. Till now thou hast grown more and more exalted. By this grant of golden diploma and seal the all-powerful Hwang respectfully appoints thee to the dignities and offices of thy spiritual ancestors, to the sovereignty, spiritual and temporal, of the great province of Tsang. For the propagation of the sacred religion over all the earth, and for the spread of thy holy fame far and wide, thou wilt as of old have a general authority over all

Tibet. "Vouchsafe the blessing of thy mercy and prayers over us in this central dominion! The fourth day of the last winter-month, in the 30th year of the reign of the Emperor Chhen Luñg (Kienlung or Nam Kyong, celestial protector)."

To this the Panchen returned a dignified reply. In the year 1770 he was invited to Lhaṣa to supervise the education of the young Dalai Lama. This time also he lavished his bounties over the monks and the beggars of the country. "In the year 1771 he received an embassy from the Dûk-desi (Deba-Raja) of Bhutan named Shidar, which brought him presents of some value. The Panchen in return deputed one of his Secretaries to Bhutan with a letter of advice. Being informed of the misconduct of Deba-raja towards the Ghatika Rájá (Raja of Cooch Behar) whose territories had been invaded by the Bhutanese, and who had himself been led in chains to the capital of Bhutan, then Panchen sent a messenger to Bhutan begging the immediate release of the captive Rajá. The Deba wrote him to say that he (the Deba) implicitly obeyed the command of the Lama by at once setting the Rajá at liberty. The receipt of this letter greatly delighted the Panchen. In the meantime the armies of the Ghatika Rajá had applied for help from the owner of Bangala (Warren Hastings) who having espoused the Ghtika Rajá's cause, made certain proposals to the Deba, to which the latter did not agree. This difference gave rise to something like a war between the Lord of Bangala and Deba Shidar. It resulted in disasters being brought upon the Deba and in the occupation of a portion of his territory by the Lord [16] of Bangala. To avert this calamity Deba Shidar applied for mercy and intervention to this quarter (Tibet), at which the Panchen, unable to bear the miseries of a large number of afflicted people, sent a Deputy to the Court of the Lord of Bangala, entreating him to forgive the Deba Rajá his misconduct, to restore him his territories, and to put an end to further hostilities. Pleased with the mild and pacific tone of the letter, the Lord of Bangala at once complied with the Panchen's requests. Thus by dispelling the causes of rancour and quarrel between the two powers, he established amity and peace, the direct consequence of which was the establishment of an unrestricted commercial intercourse between the different nations.

With a view to make offerings and oblations to the great Bodhisattva at Dorje-dan (Buddha Gayá), to the sacred cavern of Gaya-gauri, to the great city of Prayága and the great river Nairanjana (now called Liláјan or Phalgu) he despatched to India Tuñg-rampa of Doñg-tse Lossang tshering, and three Lamas, together with nine young monks. The three Lamas, being unable to stand the excessive heat of the country, perished on the way. The Tibetan travellers had to encounter many difficulties and fears, arising from the immense distance of the journey, the burning heat of the country, the venomous serpents, the wild and ferocious animals, and more specially from the bands of robbers that infested the country at large, and to crown all, the princes of the frontier states had stationed guards to stop foreign intercourse. Yet depending on the efficacy of the blessing of their Spiritual Lord, they succeeded in accomplishing their object. On declaring that they were Tashi Lama's priests, sent on pilgrimage, the Rājās of the frontier states did not molest them. On the other hand, they received friendly assurances and warm receptions from the different classes of people in India. The Bhúpál of Váránasí (also called Kási) named Chete Sing Bahadur, to whom they carried the Panchen's letter, gave them a cordial reception. He kindly provided the travellers with passports and letters patent, which enabled them to travel in wooden conveyances, as respectable parties. The same prince, having furnished them with convoys, they reached Dorje-dan (Buddha Gayá) in a fortnight from Váránasí. At Dorje-dan they made great offerings, and performed divine services of five kinds before the image of the Maha Bodhisattva, and paid reverence to the Tirtha-dharas, and Siva-rishi. They gave dinners to priests, beggars and other men. At this time, hearing that the Maháguru Tashi Lama's offerings had reached Dorje-dan, people from different quarters assembled near the spot to see the sight.

These spectators, full of faith, joining their palms, paid homage to the Supreme dispenser of mercy according to their own religious persuasion. They also made presents of edibles and various sorts of articles to these Tibetan worshippers. The travellers, having made their offerings at other important places of pilgri- [17] mage, arrived before tne Prince of Váránasí who, according to the Maháguru's commands, conducted religious serices at the Buddhist shrine of Váránasí. He showed much hospitality and kindness to these *Gelongs* (monks) with readiness and pleasure. At last, in order to pay homage to the Maháguru, Tashi Lama, Chete Sing Bahadúr deputed his general, Lálá Kashmírí Mall and two of his officers, Gusankhi puri and Soparam, to Tashi-lhunpo. Accompanying the *Gelongs* they safely arrived before His Holiness. The account of the successful termination of this perilous pilgrimage, the offerings and oblations made to the sacred places and shrines, the hospitality of the natives of India, Chete Sing Bahadúr's cordial reception of the monks and most particularly the arrival of the Indian envoys, with presents and letters transported His Holiness with joy. Chete Sing's letter, which was written in Nágari, when translated into Tibetan, ran thus:—

"To the most precious and exalted personage, the all-knowing *pandit*, who sits like the parent of all living beings that inhabit the region encompassed by heaven.

We are in receipt of your favour, the perusal of which has afforded us as much pleasure as could be derived from an actual meeting. The enclosure, consisting of satin and gold, has been placed by me on the crown of my head, as the best of blessings. In accordance with your request, I arranged for the comfortable journey of the *Gelongs* sent hither by you. They visited all the important shrines and places of pilgrimage, such as Dorje-dan, Prayága and others. I provided them with letters of recommendation and passports as required by them, by means of which they travelled from place to place, well received by all men. After fulfilling their mission they have returned here. The bearer of this letter, Lálá Kashmírí Mall, is my faithful minister and general. I entreat you to be kind to him, as well as to his companions Gusankhi-puri and Soparam, who are also my favourite and trustwrothy servants. Every act of kindness and benevolence rendered to them, will be gratefully acknowledged by me. I also entreat you to bless me now and then with your kind favours. We shall also send letters to your Holiness. All news about this quarter will be communicated to you by my minister General Kashmírí Mall and the *Gelongs*. This letter of mine, written in Nágari, I despatch with the accompanying presents, consisting of a model temple of the Maha Bodhi Manda of Dorje-dan, an excellent watch, studded with precious stones, a mirror, tusks of elephant, Yañti (Jade) and many other curious articles."

His Holiness was exceedingly pleased with these presents and expressions. On the 11th of the tenth lunar month a gentleman, named Bogle Saheb (George Bogle), with a small retinue arrived in Tibet from Bangala (Bengal). After making presents, which consisted of many curious articles of glass and toys, he solicited an interview with His Holiness. He was well received, admitted [18] into the hall of audience and seated on a State cushion. After tea was served, His Holiness and Bogle Saheb conversed together on different topics in the Nágari (Hindi) language. On the day of the full moon of the same month, Bogle Saheb's party were entertained at a grand dinner and received many presents. The Panchen often entered into a long discourse with Bogle Saheb, and evinced great delight at his answers and questions, His Holiness's kind attachment to Bogle Saheb resembled that of a spiritual guide to his disciple, or of a Lama to his alms-giver. On the 6th of the 3rd month of the following year, after a residence of five months in Tibet, Bogle Saheb accompanied by Dagdor Saheb (Dr. Hamilton) and retinue, after attending a dinner given by His Holiness, started for Bangala. Making the usual salutation, by prostrating themselves before His Holiness, loaded with excellent presents consisting of silk apparel and other things, and furnished with the Panchen's reply to the letter of the Lord of Bangala, they rode off. A few days afterwards His Holiness dismissed the Envoy, General Kashmírí Mall, with two of his assistants, loading them with presents, and furnishing the Envoy with a letter for the Prince of Váránasí in Aryavarta.

In the year 1777 the Panchen visited Lhasa and administered the vows of ordination to the Dalai Lama. He also distributed alms to the different monasteries of Lhasa. At the age of forty-two, in the 1st lunar month of the year 1779, be received an invitation from the Emperor of China. The letter was written on a gold tablet, and inclosed was a pearl rosary. After compliments and enumeration of various titles, the Emperor continued:—"Most gracious Panchen Ertinee, I beg thee to honour me with a visit. I long to see thy face." The Panchen in reply wrote thus:—"I too, long to gratify myself by the sight of the golden face of your Imperial Majesty. Accordingly I have resolved to start for Pekin." On the receipt of this, the Emperor in the course of a few months sent three letters, one after another, thanking His Holiness for the promised visit. On the 17th of the 6th lunar month, on Friday at noon, His Holiness left Tashi-lhunpo for Pekin, little thinking that he would never return to his own country. At Yañg-pachen great preparations were made for his reception. Here the Dalai Lama, the King of Tibet, Thichan Ertinee, Noman Khan, the two Ampans, the four ministers of State, the Lamas, princes, nobles and householders of the realm, assembled together to welcome His Holiness and pay him farewell honours. They all approached him with their parting offerings, which consisted of gold, silver, blankets, ecclesiastical vestments, ponies, mules, yaks, jo, and countless other things. The Dalai accompanied him to a distance of 8 days' journey, after which he returned to Lhasa from a place called Tashi-thañg.

He met with his messengers on their way back from Pekin at Lhundub-phug, a place on the west of Chha-dañ La in the Kham [19] country. Here he made a halt of three days during which he was occupied in conversation with the messengers. The Emperor, in making inquiries, is said to have observed "How is the health of Panchen Ertinee? How is that of the Dalai Lama? Is the Dalai Lama making fair progress in gaining accomplishments? Request him, in my name, not to fail to honour me with a visit next year, by which time a great temple, like that of Potala, will have been erected here in China. This year, also, I have raised a monastery like that of Tashi-lhunpo.

"My mind is eagerly waiting for the day when the Panchen Ertinee's advent will sanctify this place. I am occupied with that thought alone. When His Holiness arrives in the vicinity, I shall send Wang and the chief ministers to escort him hither. My heart will overflow with joy, and when he will arrive here to converse with me, the very sight of his thrice-sacred face will increase my moral merits ten thousand-fold."

So saying he handed over to them his portrait to be presented to the Panchen as a token of his deep respect for him. When the letter, with the enclosures and the portrait, were laid before the Panchen, he was transported with joy. He paid great reverence to the portrait, keeping it always before him. Then by slow marches he reached Ku-bum. * * * * *

The Panchen Rinpoche's party consisted of 500 monks, 100 soldiers or guards, 800 servants, 100 clerks, besides a few Indian Achâryas, Mongols, Chinese and Tibetan deputations, consisting of Le-hu Ampan, a few officers of the Ampan's staff, Ertinee Nomankhan, Tá-lama and many other officers of State. * * *

Then slowly marching on, he arrived at Taika, where the Imperial high priest Chañkya Rinpoche, accompanied by the Emperor's 6th son, also arrived to receive him. The meeting was an event of great joy and happiness to both parties. After exchanging presents, the high priest presented the Panchen with the Emperor's letter, written on a gold tablet, accompained by a Lama crown studded with pearls, pearl rosaries, one of the best steeds from the Emperor's stable, a Yañ-ti (Jade) Sadob, gold pots and five sorts of dresses. * * * * * *

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Proceeding on by slow marches, on the 22nd of the 7th month, he arrived at Ye-hor (Yehole). Here he was met by the chief ministers of state, ordered to be in attendance for His Holiness's reception. Party after party of the nobles and chiefs of the Empire arrived, all of whom dismounting from their horses, thrice prostrated themselves before His Holiness. After the usual presentation of a *Khátag* (silk scarf), they received benediction from his hands. The procession of these nobles was a pretty sight indeed. At midday they conducted His Holiness to the top of a hill to show him the scenery of the surrounding country. His Holiness was delighted with the extreme beauty of the place. The green mountains and [20] valleys, according as they were near or distant, resembled heaps of emerald or sapphire. The disposition of the natural obelisks of rocks, resembling so many piles of Chorten, and fine verdure, with rows of juniper and birch, round numerous gardens, ravished his eyes. On all sides, there were bowers and orchards bearing varieties of flowers and fruits. The green corn-harvest that filled the country, the endless springs, and silvery cataracts that poured forth their foaming water from the neighbouring mountains, and charming serenade from the warbling groves greatly refreshed him who was so long tired by continual marches in the endless steppes of Mongolia, and broke the monotony of his journey. The Emperor's palace, environed by numerous shrines, appeared like a celestial mansion. The most remarkable of all the buildings at Ye-hor were the two monasteries called Potala and Tashi-lhunpo, newly erected after their prototypes of U and Tasañg. Their workmanship and architectural finish struck him with wonder. Just as he was stepping to the back of this sublime eminence, there arrived, accompanied by Chañkya Rinpoche and many high officials, the Emperor's prime minister Ar-a-phugúñ, to conduct His Holiness before the Emperor's presence. First, they presented him with the Emperor's *Khátag* and with tea. He was then conducted, carried on a State *sedan*, towards the palace gate, the left and right sides of which were lined with innumerable banners and umbrellas, amidst the solemn and imposing music of drums, cymbals, and clarionets. The Emperor, descending from his throne, came to the door of the reception-room to welcome His Holiness. As soon as he saw the Emperor's face, the Panchen was attempting to kneel down when the Emperor stopped him. Then the Emperor, presenting the auspicious *Khátag*, softly touched his hands and said:—"Welcome, Lama. Is your Holiness's health all right? On account of the length and tediousness of the journey, I believe, Your Holiness has become exceedingly fatigued?" "By your Imperial Majesty's mercy and kindness," replied the Panchen, "no fatigue or weariness could do me harm." After a copious exchange of sincere and polite expressions, the Emperor, holding his hand, conducted him to the top of a spacious throne where, seated confronting each other, they conversed as intimate friends. The Emperor added, "Your Holiness has arrived here at a very happy and auspicious time. To day is the 70th anniversary of my birth. I am exceedingly delighted." After a few minutes' stay here, the Emperor conducted him to the great palace, where seated as before, they both refreshed themselves with delicious tea and engaged in conversation. On this occasion the Emperor took off from his own neck the necklace of pearls of inestimable value,—each pearl as large as an apricot—and put it on the Lama's neck. He also presented His Holiness with a yellow satin hat, the top of which was adorned with a pearl as large and regular as a hen's egg. Presently, they went to the new monastery of Tashi-lhunpo, [21] where a grand and sumptuous dinner was served. As soon as it was finished, the Panchen's presents were laid before the Emperor. * * * * * * *

The Jasag Lama and others also received suitable presents. The next day the Emperor went to return the visit at the Panchen's residence at Ye-hor Tashi-lhunpo. From the 23rd of the month, for two days they met each other twice or thrice daily, and talked on various topics, each time exchanging presents. From the 25th for 12 days they spent their time in witnessing magical and illusive feats and performances, wonderful sights, horse-racing, dances, operas and theatricals.

During his residence at Ye-hor the Panchen did not forget his religious duties. He initiated many thousands of monks, made offerings to all temples and Viháras, and distributed alms to the congregation of monks. All these acts of piety and virtue raised him high in the Emperor's esteem. One day the Emperor presented him with a seal of Yânti (Jade) and a diploma written on golden tablets. In his conversation the Emperor expressed great anxiety for the welfare of the Tibetans—"How is the Dalai progressing in his studies? What interest does he shew in hearing religious sermons? Does he possess intelligence and talents? Does he shew parental love and affection for his subjects? What is his age? What are the religious accomplishments of the Panchen himself?"—were some of the points of his enquiries, to all of which excellent answers were given by His Holiness. The Emperor, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, presented the Panchen with the Imperial diploma and seal appointing him the

Sovereign of the whole of Tibet, advising him to exert himself well to promote religion and the welfare of his subjects. * * * *

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On the 28th of the 8th lunar month they bid good-bye to Ye-hor. On the 1st of the 9th month the Panchen arrived at the yellow shrine of the Imperial palace of Pekin where he took up his residence. The Emperor paid him a visit at the palace of Kema Park.

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On the night of the 25th he felt a strong headache and irritating pains in his nose. In the morning he communicated his ailment to his servants. Next morning Sopon Chenpo asked him how he felt during the night. Nothing very serious, replied the Lama. On the night of the 26th he did not take any food, and said he ailed very much. He aslo complained of colic and biliousness. All these symptoms of approaching danger alarmed the Sopon Chenpo, who at once communicated his fears to his colleagues. The Chañkya Rinpoche and some of the Emperor's physicians, came to feel his pulse. They declared, that except some disorders and bodily agitations, they saw nothing so serious in his pulse as would tend to endanger his life. On the 27th His Holiness performed the service of Mahákála for the Emperor's benefit. Hear- [22] ing the illness of His Holiness from the Chañkya Rinpoche, the Emperor requested him to take a few days' rest. The Panchen himself also thought that a short cessation from labour might do him good.

After a few days' rest, he seemed to recover. During this time he performed many pious acts, giving alms to 7,500 beggars and ransoming 3,30,000 animal lives. His illness again returned. The Emperor, unmindful of ceremonies, privately attended him with two of his chief physicians who administered medicines to him. After this, his sprightliness to some extent increased, and his cheerfulness revived. He was always merry when in the company of Chañkya Rinpoche and the Emperor's fifth son. Outwardly, there were no traces of indisposition, but it was apparent that his usual temper and appearance had undergone some change, and his friends and servants when they saw that he could take no food at all became very uneasy at heart. Once, Sopon Chenpo drawing up his sleeves, saw an eruption resembling small-pox on his arms. He at once showed it to the Jasong Lama.

Being informed of this, the Emperor immediately sent his physicians to attend His Holiness. Examining the pulse, they found nothing ominous, but could not mistake the eruption as other than that of small-pox. They gave him some medicine, but to no effect. He soon succumbed. On the 1st of the 11th month, he sent for the two Indian Pandits who had accompained him in all his travels from Tashi-lhunpo, one of whom happened to be absent, but the other, named Purnagir, came. Seeing Purnagir's face, his Holiness's became cheerful, and his last words were addressed to Purnagir in the Arya language.

Note :— Teshoo Lomboo is the same as Tashi-lhunpo.
Teshoo Lama ,, ,, as Tashi Lama.
Eretinee or Ertinee ,, ,, as Irtinee, *Ratna*.
Kienlung ,, ,, as Chen lung.
Chete Sing ,, ,, as Chait Sing.
Panchen (from *Pan*, Pandit and *Chen*, great) great Pandit, a learned sage.
Dorjeda—*Vajrasana*—the ancient name of Buddha Gayá.
Rinpoche—*Maharatna*—also precious majesty.
Yehole or Yehor is same as Jehole. [23]

APPENDIX V

*A Letter from Kien-lung, Emperor of China to Dalai Lama, the Sovereign Hierarch of Tibet 1785, A.D.**

PLACED by Heaven at the head of ten thousand kingdoms, my utmost endeavours are employed to govern them well. I nglect no means to procure peace and happiness to all that have life. I endeavour also to make learning and religion flourish. Lama, I am persuaded that you enter into my view, and that your intentions accord with mine. I am not ignorant that you do all, that depends on you, to omit nothing your religion prescribes, and to follow exactly all the laws. You are punctual at prayer, and you bestow the attention that praying well requires. It is principally by this that you become the most firm supporter of the religion of Fo (Buddha). I rejoice in it from my heart, and give you, with pleasure, the praises that are your due.

By the favour of Heaven I enjoy health. I wish, Lama, that you may enjoy the same blessing, and that you may long continue to offer up your fervent prayers.

The year before last the Panchen Irtinee (Pandit Ratna) set out from Tashi-lhunpo, in order to pray here, upon the occasion of my seventieth birth-day, to which I am drawing nigh. He performed his journey in good health. As soon as I was acquainted with his departure, and that he informed me he was to pass the winter at Kûmbûm, I sent the Lieutenant-General Ouau-fou, and another grandee, named Pao-tai, to meet him, and ordered them to convey to him a Śoutchou (string) of pearls, that I had myself worn; a saddle, and all the accoutrements of a riding horse; some utensils of silver, and other trifles. They found him at Kûm-bûm treated him in my name with a feast of ceremony, and delivered these presents.

This last year, the Panchen Irtinee having left Kûm-bûm on his route to me, I sent to him a second time, the grandees of my presence, Our-tou-ksoon and Ta-fou, accompanied by Ra-koo, a Lama of the rank of Hou-touk-too. To these three deputies I committed one of my travelling chairs, one of my camp tents, the small flags, and other tokens of distinction proper to create respect with which he was to be complimented on my behalf.

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* Extracted from Capt. S. Turner's Embassy to Tibet. [24]

They met him at the town of Houhou, and presented to him what they were commissioned with, after having given him as before a feast of ceremony.

When I learned that he was no more than a few days journey from the frontiers, I despatched to meet him, the sixth Ague, who is now the eldest of my sons, and caused him to be accompanied [24] by the Houtouktou Chañkya. They met him at the Miao, or temple of Tai-han: there they saluted him on my behalf, gave him a feast of ceremony, and presented to him in my name a *Śoutchou* of pearls, more valuable than those first sent: a cap enriched with pearls; a led horse, with saddle and accoutrements; some utensils of silver and other trifles.

After his departure from the Miao of Tai-han, the Panchen Irtinee repaired to Tolonor (seven lakes), where he waited sometime in order to receive all I designed to send him. I deputed, for the purpose of saluting him, those princes of the blood, who have the title of Khawn (Khan), and guards of my person. They were accompanied by Fen-chen and Tchiloun, officers of rank, and by the Lamas of Avou-ang, Pa-tchou, and Ram-tchap. They presented to him in my name a cap of ceremony, oranamented with pearls, and many utensils of gold and silver.

On the 21st day of the seventh moon, the Panchen Irtinee arrived at Je-hole, where I then was, and gave me a feast of ceremony, to which the Lamas of his suite, from Tashi-lhunpo and Potala, were admitted. I gave in return a solemn entertainment, but apart, to all the Lamas of Je-hole, to the Lamas of Tchasaks, of the Eleuths, of the Kokonors, of the Tourgouths, and of the Tûrbeths.

During this festival the Mongoux (Mongolian) princes, the Begs, the Tai-dji, and other principal nobility of the different hordes, as well as the deputies, or ambassadors, from Coreans, the Mahomedans and others, who were assembled at Je-hole, did homage to him by performing the ceremonies of respect, used on such occasions.

Delighted with a reception so honourable and so uncommon, the Pan-chen Irtinee expressed marks of satisfaction that charmed all these strangers in their turn. He took this occasion to request that I would permit him to accompany me to Peking, to which I consented. The second day of the ninth moon was that, on which he made his entry, into this capital of my vast dominions. All the Lamas, many thousands in number, came forth to meet him, prostrated themselves in his presence, and fulfilled with respect to him the other duties which their customs prescribe. After all these ceremonies were finished, he was conducted to Yuen-ming-yuen, and I assigned for his habitation that part of my palace, which is named the golden apartment.

I gave directions that everything worthy of curiosity, in the environs, should be shewn to him: he accordingly went to Hiang-chau, to Ouan-cheou-chan, and other places deserving of notice. He visited the Miao, or temples, of these different places, and was every where received with distinguished honours. He officiated in person, at the dedication of the Imperial Miao, which I had erected at Ouan-cheou-chan, and which was just then completed. [25]

On the third day of the tenth moon I gave him a grand entertainment in the garden of Yuen-ming-yuen; "and, during the entertainment, I caused to be brought, in presence of all the court, the various articles I designed for him, and which I added to those already presented."

After the entertainment he repaired with the principal persons of his suite, to the Miao of the amplification of charity, and to that of concord. He offered up prayers in the one and in the other, for prosperity of my reign, and for the benefit and happiness of every living creature.

The Pan-chen Irtinee, in undertaking a journey of twenty thousand *li*, to contribute to the celebrity of my Ouan-cheou did more than sufficient to entitle him to all the distinctions, that could evince my sense of his kindness; but the air of satisfaction and pleasure, which diffused itself on all around him, and which he himself manifested, whenever he was admitted to my presence, impressed on my mind on the most exquisite gratifications it ever felt. I remarked, with peculiar sentiment of affection, that he never once spoke to me on the subject of his return. He seemed disposed to fix his abode near my person. But, alas! how uncertain are the events of this life!

On the twentieth of the tenth moon, the Pan-chen Irtinee felt himself indisposed. I was informed of it, and instantly sent my physicians to visit him. They reported to me that his complaints were serious, and even dangerous. I did not hesitate to go to him in person, in order to judge myself of his situation. He received me with the same tokens of pleasure that he had ever shewn when admitted to my presence; and from the words full of satisfaction with which he addressed me, I might have conceived that he was in the complete enjoyment of health. It was, however, far otherwise; and the venom of small pox had already spread itself through all parts of his body.

The second day of the eleventh moon, his disorder was pronounced to be incurable. The Pan-chen Irtinee suddenly changed his corporeal dwelling. The afflicting intelligence was iimmediately communicated to me.

The shock overcame me. With a heart full of the most poignant grief, and eyes bathed in tears, I repaired to Hwang-shi, the yellow chapel, where, with my own hands, I burned perfumes to him.

Although I am well aware that to come and to go are but the same thing to the Panchen Irtinee, yet when I reflect that he made a very long and painful journey, for the sole purpose of doing honour to the day of my Ouan-cheou; and that after having fulfilled that object, it was not his fate to return in tranquillity, as I had hoped, to the place of his usual abode: this reflection, I say, is distressing to me beyond all expression. To console me in some degree, or, at least to attempt some alleviation of my griefs, I have resolved to render memorable, the day of his regeneration. I named [26] for the guard of his body Chang-tchaopa, Soni-boungue and some other grandees, and gave them particular orders for the construction of a receptacle for it, worthy of such precious remains, which lie in the interior of the yellow temple. I gave directions also for making a shrine of gold, in which should be deposited the body of the Irtinee. This was executed by the twenty-first day of the twelfth moon. I then regulated the hundred days of prayer, counting from that day, on which he disappeared. It was only to alleviate, however little, the grief in which my heart was overwhelmed, that I acted so. I also caused several towers to be erected in different places, which I considered as so many palaces that he might have planned himself for varying his abode, or such as I might have assigned to him for his recreation. I bestowed bounties, on his behalf, to the most eminent of his disciples and to the principal Houtouktous. I gave them *Soutchous* of pearls, with permission to wear them; and I particularly distinguished the brother of Irtinee, by conferring on him the title of "prince of the efficient prayer." I did not neglect the Tchasak Lamas, in the distribution of my gifts. Several amongst them were decorated with honourable titles, and received from me, *Soutchous* of pearls, pieces of silk, and other things with which they appeared to be gratified.

My design in entering with you into this detail is to prove to you the estimation in which I hold whatever is connected with you, and the profound regard I have for your person. The number of one hundred days allotted to prayer was completed on the thirteenth of the second moon of the present year. I issued my orders for the departure; the body was conveyed with due pomp; and I joined the procession myself, in person, as far as it was proper. I should go. I depute the sixth Ague, now the eldest of my sonsr to accompany it to the distance of three days' journey from this capital; and I nominated Petchingue, mandarin in the tribunal of foreign affairs, and Iroultou, one of my guards, to accompany it all the way to Tashi-lhunpo. Although the Panchen Irtinee, has changed his abode, I have full confidence that, with the aid I have rendered to him, he will not long delay to be fixed in another habitation.

Lama, it is my desire that you show kindness to all the Lamas of Tashi-lhunpo, and respect them on my account: from the conduct they have observed, I judge them worthy of being your disciples. I recommend to you, especially those who accompany the body, and who will perform the number of prayers, that you shall regulate, for the completion of the funeral rites. I hope you will cheerfully execute what you know will be agreeable to me. It only remains for me to add, that I send you Petchingue and his suite, to salute you in my name, and inform themselves of the state of your health. They will deliver to you a *Soutchou* of coral to be used on grand festivals; a tea pot of gold, weighing thirty ounces; a bowl of the same metal, and the same weight; [27] a tea pot and bowl of silver; thirty *soutchous* of various different coloured beads, and twenty purses great and small, of various colours.

The fourteenth of the second moon of the forty-sixth year of the reign of Kienlong.

A short account of Purnagir Gosain from Babu Gurudas Bysack's paper in the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

"The important featurres of the extraordinary character of Puran Gir, * * * has been gleaned from the history of the mission to Tibet. He possessed remarkable intelligence and wisdom, a fund of inexhaustible energy, a mastery of many languages including Tibetan and Mongolian, a wide range of experience acquired by travel in and out of India, a practical insight into all the commercial relations of Asia of which Tibet formed the heart, and enjoyed and deserved a reputation for piety and integrity which made him the trusted agent of the Tashi-lhunpo authorities and the Bengal Government. Of the personal history of this remarkable and extraordinary Sanyasi; unfortunately there exists no record. Whatever was known of him, has, like that of most of our illustrious countrymen, passed into oblivion. It is a happy thing that so many particulars and incidents connected with his public life and such abundant testimony to his character, capacity and comprehensive knowledge of the important affairs of the time, have been preserved in the pages of Markham's Narrative of the Missions of George Bogle to Tibet"—a narrative the materials of which were traced by the author in the possession of private individuals and were not found in the public records of Government, and in the Reports of Captain Turner as well as of the Gosain himself. The statement of the Gosain was taken down by Turner and submitted to the acting Governor General, Mr. Macpherson and this forms an annexure of the Report.

Among the papers * * * is a passport in Tibetan, which had been given to Puran Gir by the Tashi Lama for his pilgrimage to the celebrated Lake Manasarovara. This document shows what great regard and respect the Lama had for our Gosain, for whose comfort and convenience most minute injunctions were given in it. Some particulars about the Gosain have been gathered from the statements of the Mahanta of Bhot Bagan. According to him Puran was a Brahman by caste, though as a *Dandi* he had cast off his sacrificial thread. His title *Gir or Giri* shows that he was a follower of Sankaracharya's teachings and must have been initiated at the *Jyosi Moth* in Bedarikasram.

In the passport the Tashi Lama describes him as an Acharya. He was a young man when he went to Tibet as a pilgrim. He had fair features, and was tall, strong and sincere. His usual dress consisted of the Sanyas' *kaupina*, with a short red ochre-dyed piece of cloth wrapped round his loins, and a tiger skin thrown over his shoulder, but on certain public occasions he wore a kind of toga and covered his head with a *turban.**

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* He accompanied the grand Lama Panden Yeshe in his journey to China and attended him on his death-bed. See page, 23, Appendix IV. *Ed.*

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